173 [183] They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

● [782] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 276 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

The bear hunt. Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. 224
Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following 796
ceremony, known as *wanaⁿce'rᴇ*, literally "concentration of the 782
mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit: tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai'ⁿcarax* or *naiⁿwaidjo'k'ere*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[6] [789]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c*, when bear break hickory 224
or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always [825]
refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies [721
were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was
always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, 527]
however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

Description of a bear hunt.—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they 224
always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the 825
groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

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[6] Numerous descriptions of the wanaⁿce'rᴇ are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[412 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

241 527 782 If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 787 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 262 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman
to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her
male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was
not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel
continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his move-
ments he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one in-
formant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that
this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk
for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore,
"Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry
out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the
[854] jests of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always
made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed
607 to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her
valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had
offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife
[431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The
presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts
844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always
527 gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

782

MOTHER-IN-LAW AND FATHER-IN-LAW TABOO

In former times the mother-in-law and father-in-law taboo was in full force. No man was allowed to talk directly to his mother-in-law or to look at her, and the same rule held with regard to the attitude of a woman toward her father-in-law. Even accidental meetings of these relatives, as on the road, were attended with great embarrassment. The author never learned of any way in which either the mother-in-law or the father-in-law taboo could be relaxed even temporarily, much less done away with entirely. 606

PUBERTY CUSTOMS

From the age of five, children, male and female, were taught the customs of their ancestors in a series of talks always delivered by an elderly male relative, perhaps the father. The specific training differed, of course, for boys and girls and for individuals. Personal training ceased at the age of puberty, when all, both boys and girls, were sent out to fast. For boys this fasting constituted the only puberty rite. After their faces had been blackened with charcoal they were sent to some neighboring hill with the injunction not to return till dawn. Gradually they would be sent out for two, then three, nights; if after that trial they were not blessed they would be advised either to desist entirely or exhorted to fast until they were blessed, no matter how long the time required to secure the desired result. While fasting the boys and girls used the following formula: 867 881 785 787

Waxop̀ inixjiwine	hina'djire nadje'je	vahadjex.
Spirits	am I likely to be blessed?	that is why I am praying.

[839 782]

One old Indian informed the author that in former times the young boys and girls were offered either bread or charcoal for their fast. If they took the charcoal, well and good; but if they took the bread, they were unceremoniously kicked out of the house and the charcoal was thrown after them. From the other statements of this informant one might gather that the young boys and girls generally took the bread, because, he said, after they had been kicked out, they would always resolve to go to the wilderness (in that way running the risk of being captured or killed by an enemy), in order to spite their parents. My informant was of the opinion that the parents purposely treated their children roughly, so that they might feel all the more miserable while fasting and thus pray all the more intensely.

A faster is always told to be careful as to what kind of spirits bless him, as he might be blessed by a bad spirit. Therefore a faster's blessings are always reviewed by the elders. J.'s old grandmother used to call the children in at dusk, as the evil spirits are around then. [776]

and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they 764
had first started.

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who 765
was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake
formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then
the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a
puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed
around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a [775]
plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it
outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the
mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other
food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another
speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had [782]
been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking
the people for all they had done for him.

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it [431
was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they 276]
played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed
that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain 775]
and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the
service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper
offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the
warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion
of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take
charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior,
who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight.
Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some
stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held.

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take
in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how [775]
he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin
to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until
3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of
gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either [431
of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter 525]
dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the 524]
favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally
play moccasins; if a woman, *kaⁿsu*. When all the presents have
been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the

CHAPTER VI

WARFARE AND THE COUNCIL LODGE

WARFARE

721 War was one of the most important elements in the life of the [183] Winnebago. The life of the warrior was the ideal toward which all men strove. It not only satisfied certain emotional needs but it [554] was so inextricably interwoven with social standing in the community and with individual prestige that Winnebago life is unthinkable without it. It is not surprising, then, that the prayer for [782] success on the warpath was the most important prayer that men offered up to the spirits and that it was reechoed in almost all the ceremonies. (Pls. 43, 44, 45.)

An element of culture fraught with so much significance to the individual and the social group was bound to be surrounded by innumerable customs, regulations, and restrictions. It was a life that was at stake every time an individual went on the warpath, and remembering the value of each life to a small community, it is not to be wondered at if there is a definite attempt on the part of the social group to restrict individual activity in this particular regard. An individual might go on the warpath either alone or in company with a few people, but the community, in the person of the chief, insisted that he show some warrant for his action. If no warrant of [626] any kind could be given, he subjected himself to the only restrictive measures the chief and the community could adopt, disapproval, jeers, and temporary loss of social standing and prestige. So much, as far as his own person was concerned. If his action jeopardized the life or lives of other members of the tribe he had then to face [636] the relatives of these people, just as any individual who had committed some wrong. It is hardly likely that many men would willingly run any risks of unnecessarily antagonizing their fellow tribesmen when the proper means of preparing for the warpath was open to all. A careful perusal of the system of education given on page 166 makes it clear that a sufficiently large number of methods for obtaining consent to lead a party were given, and that it was possible for every male individual to go on the warpath frequently if he so desired. Certain requirements were, however, necessary. It was not left to each individual to decide for himself [622] whether he possessed these, but the final decision always lay in the hands of the chief.

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the 721
female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplace, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hotcu'ŋgitc*).

Before the war leader enters the *higipara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higipara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higipara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two dis- 726
tinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*waruxa'p naŋkigire'ji*).[2]

When the two warriors sent out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against 726
the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint
themselves with their war paints. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings 782
upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter."

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to 726
give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would
rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed [555]
them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the best of spirits.

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their rela- 727
tives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first,

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[1] *Higipara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*waruxa'p naŋkigire'ji*) referred to is the practice [789]
of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily.

727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime
701 they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the
721 Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

[115] *Description of a war party.*—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death
[622] of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

726
701 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is
[614] fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war
[782] bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. 726 The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any 701 water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any [782] time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who [533] know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

Miscellaneous war customs. There were, in former times, many 726 miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their [727] mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and 727 their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

War honors.—"It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an 726 informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to [183] gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with 554 them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

These insignia consist of the following:

Headdress and feather.—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*warinigwahi'na*).

Red headdress.—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*trak'nie wak'e'rê.*)

Eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

Hanging eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

Waggirusgitc.—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
563 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
588 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that
[778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[*] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.
867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return.
[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the
[782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

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[*] A piece without a stem, presumably some herb, used for warding off danger.

867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 789 756 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 789 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

fact of Winnebago culture, namely, that there are, strictly speaking, 614
no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. 575
There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in
many respects, are absolutely identical with the religious societies, [796]
and which furnish, it seems to us, an example of just those two kinds
of influence that we wished to point out, one radiating from the clan
as an organization, the other from the entire clan unit.

In the Winter Feasts the unit of organization is the clan. Gen- 614
erally all the clans were represented in the person of the owner of 796
each specific clan war bundle. The order of invitation was tradi-
tionally fixed, but it seems that in a number of cases the "friend"
clan always had the position of honor. The war-bundle owner was
not, however, supposed to represent the clan at all, but the spirits
to whom offerings were being made. In every case, although the
participants were supposed to represent a fairly large number of
animals, the main blessings that were contained in the war bundle [782
were from the thunderbird and night-spirit and the main offerings 776]
were indeed made to them. There seem thus to have been two
separate ceremonies involved, one to the thunderbird and the other
to the night-spirits.

The question arising with regard to the clan basis of these cere-
monial organizations is whether we are to imagine that the cere-
monial unit of organization was displaced by the clan unit, or whether
we are to suppose that the ceremony is of comparatively recent
origin, let us say at least long after the clan organization had been
perfected, and that a number of things combined to determine the
acceptance of the clan as a unit of organization, as opposed to the
traditional ceremonial one. To the foregoing we must also add the
fact that the Winter Feast seems to be related to similar ceremonies
of the Central Algonquian, whose influence on the Winnebago must [171]
first be determined. If, then, we are not in a position at present to
suggest the course of development, there can be no doubt that the
content of the ceremony is strictly comparable to that of the religious
societies, and that there are hints that the ceremonial unit of organi-
zation had begun to assert itself. If this could be definitely estab-
lished, it would indicate that the clan basis of organization is his-
torically primary.

The clan unit of organization is found in no other Winnebago ceremony, although the specific clan feasts show marked influences radiating from the clan unit. The clan feast is a typical ceremonial complex, both in type of organization and in content. The difference between it and a society like that of the night-spirit lies in the fact that although the five principal participants must have specific blessings (bundles), they must at the same time belong to the clan. To what extent a member of one clan who has obtained a bundle

"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (de-cicik).[29] From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

614
533

Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earthmaker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 567 [783] ● [276]

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[29] The name de cicik is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis. [103]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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867
782 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and
276 he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

TCE DIE'IK'ARAICERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614
551

Hosntrega	He who travels the land.
Tcanimaniwinga	She who walks abroad.
Tcenigkeiga	Suckling buffalo calf.
Tcega	Buffalo.
Tcep'nuⁿpaga	Two buffalo heads.
Tcetcaⁿwinga	First buffalo.
Tcedejoniqk'a	Buffalo yearling.
Tcedeniqk'a	Young buffalo bull.
Tcewiqadega	Big female buffalo.
Wirukanaga	He who is in control.
Hohokmaniga'	Shaggy walker.
Tcehatcewinga	Buffalo hide blue.
Maⁿciskeretega	Shakes the earth by striking
Tcep'aga	Buffalo head.
Maⁿsok'arahiga	Kicking up the earth

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614
173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826
761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *wankcigohoniga* and *xaⁿnatcgiga*.

I:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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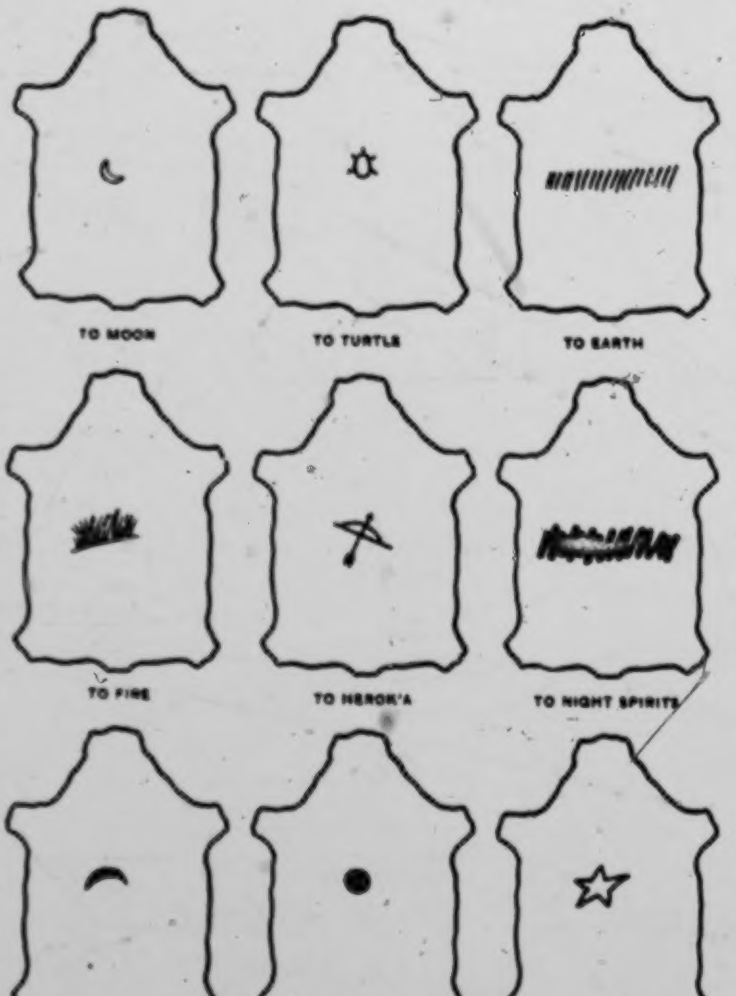
532
776



TO MOON TO TURTLE TO EARTH

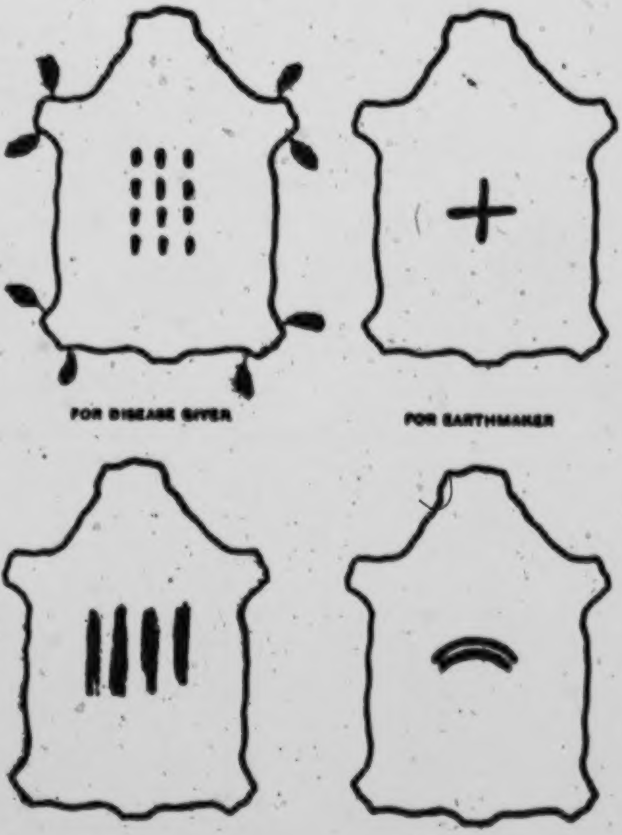
TO FIRE TO HEROK'A TO NIGHT SPIRITS

TO MOON TO SUN TO MORNING STAR

BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 (8)]

782
531
T76



FOR DISEASE GIVER

FOR EARTHMAKER

FOR NIGHT SPIRITS

FOR THUNDERBIRD

BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS

[Facing p. 248 [illegible])]

CHAPTER X

SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

INTRODUCTION

756 [171] The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *warukʌ'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 754 The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines: Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. [787] Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

● [782] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed. [789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Warukʌ'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wanaⁿicere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of warukʌ'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were
there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-a! e-he-a!* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahi! ahi! ahi! ahi!* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are
careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

825
756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and weeds and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that
[844 breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to
278 women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy
845] and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[776
782] [1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain state of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

756 from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him.
775 Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed,
539 nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the
'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel, from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all
the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The
[782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It
is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

1: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

"'You will live (this is addressed to the patient), so help yourself 755
as much as you can and try to make yourself strong. Now as I 782
offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know 776
that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened by it.'" 539

(What follows is the shaman's offering of tobacco to the spirits.)

"*Haⁿ ho!* Here is the tobacco, Fire. You promised me that if I offered you tobacco you would grant me whatever request I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as you told me to, when I fasted for four days and you blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

"To you too, Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person who is ill is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me who took me to your lodge which lies in the center of this earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes, of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I ask of you now. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am in need of now. Add your power to mine, as you promised. The people have given me plenty of tobacco for you.

"To you, Grizzly-bear, I also offered tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge and to this all the other grizzly-bears belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would be able to kill whomsoever I wished, and that at the same time I would be able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The powers with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco, grandfathers, that the people are offering to you.

"To you, the Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient. You told me that I could use all the water in the ocean, and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life; and as I wish him to live, I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore I offer you tobacco; here it is.

"To you, the Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted seven days and carried my spirit to your home, where I found many birds of prey (literally, birds

755 with sharp claws). There you blessed me and you told me that
782 should, at any time, any human being have a pain I would be able
776 to drive it out of him. For that reason you called me One-who-
539 drives-out-pains. Now before me is a person with a bad pain and I wish to take it out of him. That is what the spirits told me when they blessed me, before I came down to earth. Therefore I am going to heal him. Here is the tobacco.

"To you, who are in charge of the snake lodge, you who are perfectly white, Rattlesnake, I pray. You blessed me with your rattles to wrap around my gourd and you told me after I had fasted for four days that you could help me. You said that I would never fail in anything that I attempted. So now, when I offer you tobacco and shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life (an additional number of years) be opened to him. That is what you promised me, grandfather.

"I greet you, too, Night Spirits. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days, and you took my spirit to your village which lies in the east, where you gave me your flutes which you told me were holy. You made my flute holy likewise. For these I ask you now, for you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him; and because I want him to live I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times; here it is.

"To you, Disease-giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted two days you let me know that you were the one who gives diseases and that if I desired to heal anyone it would be easy for me to do so were I blessed by you. So, Disease-giver, I am offering you tobacco, and I ask that this sick person who has come to me be restored to health again as you promised when you bestowed your blessing upon me.

"To you, Thunderbirds, I offer tobacco too. When you blessed me you said that you would help me whenever I needed you. A person has come to me and asked me to cure him, and as I want him to live, I wish to remind you of your promise. Grandfathers, here is some tobacco.

"To you, the Sun, I offer tobacco too; here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me that you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, someone has come to me and pleaded for life, and he has brought good offerings of tobacco to me because he knows that you have blessed me.

"To you, grandmother, the Moon, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and said that whenever I needed your power you would aid me. A person has come to me and asked for life, and I therefore call upon you to help me with your power as you promised. Grandmother, here is some tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You 755
blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You 782
said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that 776
I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask 539
of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother.

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

THUNDERCLOUD'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At 756
the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A 776
doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me.

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him. 726 787

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals. 771 [614 787]

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this 776 782 771

776 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our
782 impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would
771 be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.
776 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits
782 to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some
771 such ceremony as the *wana'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized
825 by the offerings, and accept.

In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably
[756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

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as desirous of being killed and eaten by man is, however, but another 776
way of saying that the food animals were killed and eaten, and were 782
secondarily and weakly brought into the general religious life, 771
because everything was seen through a religious vista. It is by no 825
means certain that this was always the case, and there seem to be innumerable indications in the myths that there was a time when the securing of the food animals was not connected with religion as such.

Just as the securing of food animals is to-day connected with certain spirits, so are the various activities of man during his life. But characteristically it is not a generalized conception of life, but life as consisting of a prescribed number of years, with so many war honors, so much wealth, so much food consumed, so many children, etc. The spirits are exhorted to give to every man his allotted number of years, food, etc. These are apparently his by right, and if he dies before his time the ghost of the deceased is asked to beg the spirits to distribute among his relatives the "unused" years, food, etc. So here, too, we have a clear example of the explanation of purely materialistic conception of life in terms of religion. 771 782 776

It will be best to discuss the main features of Winnebago religion under the following heads: 771

I. The religious concepts:
  1. The concept of supernatural power.
  2. The concept and nature of the spirits.
  3. The power and localization of the spirits.
II: 1. The twofold interpretation of the relation of the spirits to man.
  2. The guardian spirits.
  3. Personal religious experiences.
III. Methods of bringing the spirits into relation with man:
  1. Fasting.
  2. Mental concentration.
  4. Offerings and sacrifices.
  5. Prayers.
IV. The folkloristic concepts:
  1. The concept of evil.
  2. The concept of disease.
  3. The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.
  4. The concept of the soul.
V. The cosmological ideas.

THE CONCEPT OF SUPERNATURAL POWER[1]

The Winnebago have no such belief in a "magic power" as Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt and Mr. W. Jones would have us believe exists among [114]

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[1] For a general discussion of this concept in North America cf. my paper on the "Religion of the North American Indians," Journal of American Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106, pp. 335-373.

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776 created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

Sun. The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *haⁿbwira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *haⁿboradjera*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

Moon. The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

Earth. Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in [782] some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

[756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

Morning Star.—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

776 posed to be at eternal enmity with him, and for that reason he is regarded by most of the Winnebago as a sort of a mixed deity, partly evil and partly good, but always to be feared and capable of bestowing great blessings on man. Owing to the fact that he has become [614] identified as the clan ancestor of one of the most important Winnebago clans, he has undergone a partial rehabilitation.

The Water-spirit is an important figure in the older myths, and in them seems to be identified with the bad spirits. The attitude of the Winnebago toward him is full of inconsistencies. He is evil, yet his [778] "bones" are the most prized possessions of man on account of the remarkable power with which they are endowed. He is an evil spirit, yet according to an apparently old myth (the Traveler) one of the Water-spirits is the spirit deity in control of the earth.

In addition to these marked anthropomorphic and theromorphic spirit deities, the Winnebago, as mentioned before, have a large number of vague spirits, like fire, light, etc., and a legion of animal spirits. The latter show some interesting transitions extending all the way from purely nonspirit heroic animals to distinct spirits, conceived of as animal in shape but noncorporeal. In many cases it is, of course, [825] quite impossible to say how marked the "spirit" nature of the animal is, because it often depends on who is looking at it. To the ordinary nonreligious Winnebago the hare is mainly an heroic animal; to the religious Winnebago or a member of the medicine dance he is a spirit-animal or even a spirit-deity. In the same way different conceptions are held about the nature of the animal clan ancestors, some thinking of them as heroic animals and others as generalized noncorporeal spirit-animals and spirit-deities. Wherever guardian spirits are animals they also become noncorporeal spirit-animals. One of the reasons given by the Winnebago for the fact that the different guardian spirit-animals do not object to the killing of animals of their own species is because, in killing a bear a Winnebago is not killing his guardian spirit, the bear, for the latter is a generalized spirit-bear in control of all the bears who appear on earth.

In a number of cases it is not at all difficult to trace the development of a trickster hero, an anthropomorphic hero, or an heroic animal, into a spirit to whom offerings are made. Thus, for instance, [782] kettles and often buckskins are offered to *wak'djuŋk'a'ga*, hare, and the twins, at the war-bundle feasts.

THE POWER AND LOCALIZATION OF THE SPIRITS

According to the Winnebago, spirits possess the power of bestowing upon man all those things that are of socio-economic value to him. These may vary from such very important economic things as rain

776 for success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences.

[171] As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense [182] for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief.

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

THE TWOFOLD INTERPRETATION OF THE RELATION OF THE SPIRITS TO MAN

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another [756] explanation what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit.

159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the
hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath
pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood
a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he
drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one
arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced
around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished
he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it,
he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned
into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He
repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were
following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you
wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you
wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time."
My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much
like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it
would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled
around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things
would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I
did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my
body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost
village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake
me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached
the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed
that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of
them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that
these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not
supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Supernatural
[783] powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at
all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

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[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Herok'a, or Those-who-cry-like-babies.

unsatisfactory. Apparently his statement is based upon the occurrence of four mythical ancestors. The similarity of the Winnebago social organization with that of the Dhegiha and Tciwere branches of the Siouan family, in which subclans seem to be found, appears to have influenced Dorsey considerably in making this assumption. 796 614 [114]

It is true that in their account of origins the Warrior clan speak of themselves as having sprung from the second of the birds mentioned in the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan and this statement permits us to infer that the other two clans bear a similar relationship to those four ancestral birds who, according to legend, alit on a tree near Red Banks. But this is, of course, merely a mythical account, and the data imbedded in the clan myths must be used with the greatest caution in so far as they can be expected to throw any light on early conditions of social organization.

All that we can say now is that the chief feast will have to be considered as belonging to all the four bird clans. But this is not to be interpreted to mean that an amalgamation of four historically distinct feasts has taken place, nor that, on the other hand, the four clans were originally subdivisions of one unit.

The Chief feast.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[a] 796 622
The chief of the tribe is at the head of all the different bands and groups of people that exist among the Winnebago. As chief he has full charge of them. All the others are, so to say, his attendants and servants. When his people wish anything they go to him and ask him to obtain a blessing for them. Thus all the members of the tribe, the children as well as the mature men, go to him, and to help them the chief gives the feast known as the chief feast. He sacrifices to Earthmaker, and all who are present offer up some little gift in thankfulness, as this is a thing of supreme sacredness. All those who are present—the children, the women, the middle-aged, and the old men—in fact, whosoever attends the feast, see to it that they eat some of the food distributed.

As this feast is given in honor of their chief, all the members of the tribe, but most particularly the members of the Bird clan, prepare large offerings, so that there should be abundant food to eat. They bring all kinds of food—different kinds of meat, different kinds of vegetables, all manner of berries—in short, all sorts of edibles. These are to be offered to the spirits, and by means of these offerings they expect that their life will be filled with all that is good. It is to obtain these blessings that the feast is given. [614] [782]

When his people get sick, when it appears that an epidemic is likely, then the chief also gives the chief feast. It is for the purpose [755]

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[a] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain a full and detailed account of this feast. As in type, however, all the clan feasts are identical, this deficiency can be made up in part by comparing it with those feasts like the snake, bear, and buffalo that have been obtained in considerable detail.

787 778 [776] warpath)." The son therefore refused it, and went out to fast again. Then the spirits blessed him again and again he went to his father and asked to accompany him to the wilderness and see what blessings he had obtained. When they came to the wilderness[19] they found two wild cats (already stuffed) standing there and facing in opposite directions. Then the old man told his son again not to accept this blessing because it would be too powerful,[20] but the young man said, "This is the last blessing that I am going to get," and accepted it.

(What follows was obtained at a later time from the same informant and relating to the same blessing.)

The first blessing K'erex'u"'sak'a received was from the Thunderbirds. They dropped a flute and two feathers from heaven. But these he refused. The second blessing was also from the Thunderbirds. This time they told him to go to a certain place where he could see them himself. He went there and found four men sitting there broiling meat. They gave him a piece of meat. It was only when he fasted for the fourth time that he was blessed with a war-bundle.

WHAT G. OBTAINED IN HIS FAST

159 776 787 [775] I never fasted much. I only fasted three times and I don't believe that I ever fasted for more than two days at a time. However, I never was blessed with anything (i. e., any object). I knew, however, that I came from the home of the Thunderbirds (i. e., that I was a reincarnated Thunderbird). My spirit father and mother[21] were Thunderbirds. The Thunderbirds are beings whose glance can penetrate any object. For that reason I also can do it. For instance, I have seen a man through a tree. This I did once during a thunderstorm when a man had sought shelter behind a tree.

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[19] Whenever the word "wilderness" is used all that is meant is an uninhabited place far away from the village.

[20] By "too powerful" the old man means that the feasts, offerings, etc., that would be necessary for so great a blessing would be quite beyond the means or the ability of the young man. It is to be remembered that the bestowal of a blessing does not in itself insure its efficacy, but that this can only be assured if the [782] proper offerings and the proper emotional attitude accompany its subsequent use. Evidently the old man did not feel that the young fellow would be equal to the task. I have been told by many of the older Winnebagoes that when the old system was still intact the older people always made it a point to warn [686] impetuous youths against taking upon themselves responsibilities that they might possibly not be able to fulfill, a very excellent device, it seems to me, for not multiplying the chances of failures and consequently the necessity of explaining them. However, one need not believe that this was the reason for their caution.

[21] He says "spirit father and mother" because when he lived with the Thunderbirds he was, of course, a spirit. It is quite impossible to determine whether he means that he was a human being who was living among the spirits as a spirit or whether he was a spirit who had desired to become reincarnated as a human [776 775] being. Originally, of course, there were no human beings, but only spirits, of whom a portion became permanently transformed into human beings. However, even very powerful shamans never claim more than three reincarnations, so that he can obviously not be referring to this primitive condition and is either referring to the fact that he is a Thunderbird residing temporarily on this earth, or — and this would be the more common form — a human being who lived for some time as a Thunderbird and then returned to earth. In the latter case one would expect him to obtain great blessings in his fast, and the fact that he did not and had nevertheless such great powers suggests that he is really a reincarnated Thunderbird.

When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when 159
I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my 776
enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunder- 787
birds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever 726
I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only
in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired
of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunder-
birds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For
that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long
time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch
as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as
the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in
thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, [795]
nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to
strangle me;[22] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had [789
to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. 782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[23]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A 825
bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the 776
warpath. 787

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you.
Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of [224
tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. 782]
Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you.
Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived
here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

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[22] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

[23] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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825 776 787 blessing last. Should your descendants perform the feasts in my honor well, I will bless them with life and victory on the warpath. Whenever you offer me tobacco I will smoke it. If you put on a kettle of food for me I will be thankful to you. When you put this [841] kettle of food on the fire and offer me tobacco see to it that you keep away menstruating women . . ."[a]

HOW THE DAUGHTER OF MANK'EREXKA REFUSED A BLESSING FROM DISEASE-GIVER[b]

787 159 776 The daughter of Mank'erexka was fasting. She was his third daughter. She decided to fast during the summer. In her fast she was told that she was blessed and that on the following day a big deer would come across the waters for her to eat. Then she went to her father and said, "Father, I have been told to eat a big deer, and that to-morrow very early in the morning it will come out of the water." "It is good, my daughter. That deer has been given to you by the spirits and you may eat it."

Early the next morning a big deer came across the waters. "Let it be," the people said (to her). "As soon as it comes near we will chase it." So they got into a boat and chased it. Then they killed it and gave it to some other person instead of the young woman. "My daughter, what are you going to do? Are you going to eat the deer?" "No, father, if I were to eat the deer I would have killed it myself. But you people have killed it, so I will not eat any of it."

Then she rubbed some charcoal on her face and went to the place of fasting and said, "What you (the spirits) gave me others have taken away and eaten." Early in the morning she looked around toward the water. She was very weak, for she had not eaten for a long time. Nine days she fasted. She was saying to herself, "As soon as I see a deer I will tell the others and call my father." In the morning she went out in search of the deer. She was so weak that she could hardly crawl along. But she managed to reach the edge of the waters and, as she looked across, she saw a deer coming. So she immediately went to her father and told him. He got up immediately and, taking a spear, jumped into a boat, pursued, and speared it. Then the girl said, "Now I will eat." So they called her uncles, [782] Wolf and Elk.[c] When they came she put tobacco in their hands and said, "My uncles, I have offered tobacco to the different spirits and asked them to bless me. Now I am about to eat and I would

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[a] The rest of the story is a description of a bear feast and how, in spite of the warning of the spirit-bear two menstruating women took part in the feast; how, thereupon, two bears suddenly appeared and killed them, and how for that reason the bear feast was given up.

[114] [b] This account has been cast in a literary mold, but there is no doubt that it represents a real fasting experience. It is included here principally because it contains a number of extremely interesting features.

[c] These are the names of individuals.

787 have made yourself suffer very much[29] and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants.' All this, father, the spirit said to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden her to accept the blessing. "'You are not a good spirit,' he said." "He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is," answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker created me." Thus the wak'aiⁿtcuⁿ spoke.[30] Then the woman looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water. The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it. Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down.[31] "This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit. "The people would have respected you very much. You would have been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen to what I told you. You refused it."

FASTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-
path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
[726 If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
● 782] be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

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[29] When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebagoes call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trickster cycle the trickster, in one of his escapades, is squeezed into the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

[30] This characteristic would seem to identify the wak'aiⁿtcuⁿ with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago deities had such characteristics.

[31] This is a symbolistic representation of the powers she was given.

So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the
Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full
of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human
beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When
he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man,
in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and
again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on
him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief.
"Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and
the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our
council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council
lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As
long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions
on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will
bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are
the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without
giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker
has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to
you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you
and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way
they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make
offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum.
"This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum
holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You
must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must
take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will
never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 080

So they spoke to him. "Whenever
787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
776 bestow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
[534 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."
[778] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
825] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail. These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them. This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

"Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
[726 given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
782] control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So, therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
[796 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it, remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for
782] me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting, and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things. Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him. Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

called "concentrating one's mind" upon the spirits, upon the details 787
of the ritual, or upon the precise purpose to be accomplished. All 153
other thoughts were to be rigidly excluded, they believed. This was
the insistent admonition of the Winnebago elders to the youth who was
fasting. He was to center his mind completely on the spirits, for his
blessing would be in direct proportion to the power of concentration
he was capable of. The Winnebago believed that the relation between
man and the spirits was established by this concentration and that
no manner of care in ritualistic detail could take its place. Very frequently
failure on a warpath or lack of efficacy of a ritual was
attributed to the fact that the Indian or Indians had been lacking in [154]
the intensity of their "concentration."

Offerings and sacrifices.—The theory of offering and sacrifice held 782
by the Winnebago has been discussed before. To the important 776
deities offerings were made at the great ceremonies. These offerings
consisted of tobacco preeminently, buckskins, and whatever the
particular spirit was supposed to like. The animal spirits were
given their favorite foods—honey to the bear, for instance. Dogs
were offered to Disease-giver at the war-bundle feasts. Whether
human sacrifices ever existed it is difficult to say. In the tale of
Wegi'ceka a child is offered to Earthmaker, and there is reason to
believe that this may represent a survival of human sacrifice.

Tobacco could be offered at any time and was so offered to the various *genii loci* whenever an individual passed their precincts.

Prayers.—For examples of prayers reference must be made to the descriptions of the ceremonies. Among the Winnebago, and doubtless everywhere else, the objects of the prayer are always the socio-economic life values. What in these values is stressed depends upon the ambitions of the individual, and consequently it happens that individuals may pray for abstract blessings or ideal objects, although this is rare. Prayers are undoubtedly always accompanied by a religious feeling when made by the religious man, but frequently become mere formulas in the hands of the lay Indian.

THE FOLKLORISTIC CONCEPTS

The concept of evil.—It is extremely difficult to understand exactly 776
what the Winnebago concept of evil is. They undoubtedly postu- [812]
late the existence of evil and they have theoretically a host of evil
spirits, the *waxop'i'ni cicik*. Youths will be warned not to fast at certain
times and children will carefully be kept at home after dark for fear
of the evil spirits. Yet in spite of all this, no even fairly definite idea
of what these evil spirits are and what they look like can be obtained.
One almost gets the impression that the notion of evil spirits belongs
to an older strata of Winnebago beliefs and that what we find to-day

776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of
references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent
[773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exter-
minating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue.
It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of
view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits.
Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they
were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them
asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies,
personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately
connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil,
in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes—either to some
[688 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to
782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e.,
attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the
evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression
that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a
trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of
other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for
the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some
thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party
that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements
for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless
find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and
would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases
lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had
been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explana-
tion because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had
no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in some-
thing. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally
existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither
good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two
notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true
at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom
prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his
death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of
[192] a spirit called *Herecgu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by
a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence
is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm
the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much
concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility
[177] that *Herecgu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

PART III

CHAPTER XII

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

The Winnebago had four types of ceremonies: clan ceremonies, 796
in which only members of the clan could participate; religious societies, for which only people who had obtained blessings from the same spirits were eligible; the Medicine Dance, in which only initiated individuals could take part; and a semipermanent organization like the *hok'ixe're* dance, in which only individuals who were returning from a war party and had counted coup could participate. In this grouping we do not include ordinary feasts, such as the feasts connected with different medicines and the pleasure dances.

Every clan seems to have had a clan war-bundle feast (often called 796
winter feast) and also a specific clan feast. We have reason to suspect 614
that the war-bundle feasts were originally private feasts given by 778
the owner of a war bundle. Then as the war bundles became of great importance to the clan to which the owners belonged, they were after a while regarded as clan possessions. But even at the present time, while many would contend that the war bundle belonged to the clan as such and could not be alienated, everyone realizes that it is the property, whether held in trust or not, of a certain individual, and that he can, up to a certain point, do what he wishes with it. For a detailed analysis of a winter or war-bundle feast see page 427.

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The clan feasts were specific feasts at which offerings were made to 614
the clan animal. A good description of one is that of the Snake [782]
clan on page 325.

Perhaps the most characteristic ceremonies of the Winnebago were those of secret societies in which membership was dependent upon blessings from one and the same spirit. There were at least four of 575
these—the society of those who have been blessed by the night spirits, 796
the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, the society [776]
of those who have been blessed by ghosts, and the society of those who have been blessed by grizzly bears.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding with regard to the buffalo societies, it might be well to point out that there were three of them—

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of stopping the spread of the sickness, whatever it may be, and for repairing the ravages caused thereby. For this the feasters pray "May our people recover and thrive," they say. "May they never get sick." Then they make all those present offer up tobacco. As ● [782] each one offers tobacco Earthmaker is aware of it and accepts. Thereby do we live and become strengthened. If Earthmaker smokes the tobacco offered him he will give life in return. The people offer tobacco that they may obtain life.

[614]
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They call the Thunderbird people chiefs, and it is from among their ranks that they select the chief of the tribe.[1]

It is the duty of the chief to ward off all evils. This is one of their missions in life. They preach only what is good.

"Chief," they used to say to him, "try to do something for your people. Try to accomplish something difficult for them. Try to accomplish something difficult for your village. If you accomplish such a thing for the benefit of your people they will look up to you and respect you. Have pity on your people and love them. If a man is very poor, help him. Give him and his family food. Whatever they ask, give it to them. If your people get into trouble with one another, take your pipe and, walking in front, die for them, if necessary. From actions like these they will know that you are really their chief. There, in front of them, with your pipe in your hands, you will be lying on the ground, dead.

"If your people are about to sacrifice a dog and he gets loose and runs into your tent, you must let them have something in place of this dog for their feast. Do not let them kill the dog in your lodge. This would be sacrilegious. Grant the dog his life. Similarly, if an individual who has murdered a person escapes and takes refuge in your lodge, give him his life. Use all the wealth you have and give it to him, that he may employ it to make peace with the relatives of the person he has killed. Help these people who are in need. Do not think of your wealth. When that is gone you will get some more. Do your duty. Do not pass anyone unnoticed, not even a child. If people have come and asked you for something, do not let them go away without attempting to do something for them. You are a chief. Do some good for your people. In that way you will show that you are a chief. 'Our chief,' they will all call you. The children that see you will call you chief. Whoever talks to you will call you chief. If you are good to your people, they will show their respect by being bashful in your presence. If you are not good to them they will not think you a chief and they will not be bashful in your presence. So, at all times, do as a chief ought to do. Be good-natured to all the people and in this way you will show that

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[1] What follows is a typical speech delivered by a member of the Thunderbird clan.

you are indeed a chief. And then even the people of other tribes 622
will say that such and such people have a good chief."

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The Indians always cele- 796
brated in summer. It was a season of rejoicing because the chief 622
fed the tribe. It somewhat symbolized a mother bird feeding her
young ones. The Thunderbird
clan is in charge of the tribe, [614]
and when the chief feeds the
tribe all rejoice and the standard
is raised.

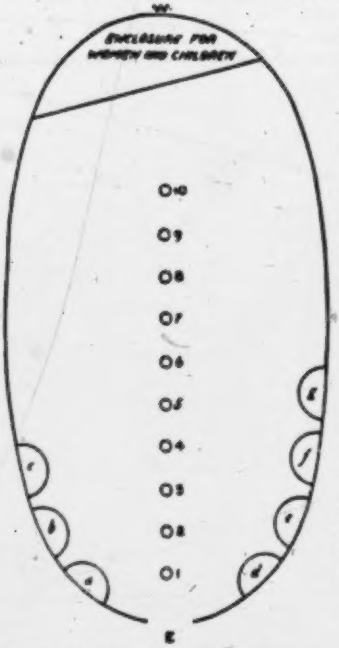

FIG. 36. Plan of Bear clan war-bundle feast as given by John Rave. a, Host. b, Relatives of host. c, Warrior clan. d, Wolf clan. e, Thunderbird clan. f, Eagle clan. g, Buffalo clan. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for turtle. 3, Buckskin for thunderbird. 4, Buckskin for sun. 5, Buckskin for moon. 6, Buckskin for morning star. 7, Buckskin for earth. 8, Buckskin for fire. 9, Buckskin for heroka. 10, Buckskin for night spirits.

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (FIRST VERSION)

Two versions of the Bear clan 614
feast (fig. 36) were obtained, for- 796
tunately both from a man and a 782 ●
woman. The feast was generally
given during the month called
Hundjuxi'ra (i. e., bear month),
corresponding roughly to our [805]
January.

Informant, member of the clan (female): The host tells his sister's son, or, if he should not happen to have any, a member of the Wolf clan, to build a long lodge. This attendant then fills kettles either with blueberries or raspberries or any other fruit that the bears are fond of, and places them on the fireplace. Sometimes dried corn is also brought.

The participants enter the lodge at dusk. The host precedes the invited guests. In entering they proceed in a direction contrary to the hands of the clock. The host always sits at the southeast end of the lodge and the guests occupy seats next to him, proceeding from the southeast to the northwest.

When all are seated the host rises and addresses his guests as follows:

"Members of my clan who are seated here, I greet you all. To
those from whom I have sprung I make these offerings of tobacco [537]
and this headdress (i. e., red feathers). I was told by my ancestors
that if I did this I would obtain for myself, for my relatives, and for

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

614 796 the members of my clan, sufficient blessings to guide us all safely 782 through life, and to make our lives pleasant I will not tell the [537] origin myth (of our clan) because it is sacred and it must not be told without the proper ceremony, for the telling would then injure an individual. Besides there are many clans beside our own represented here and it is not proper that these should hear it."

614 796 He then speaks of the four ancestral bear-beings who were created in the beginning.

When the feast is ready one of the Wolf clansmen gives four soldier whoops. Then the fire is allowed to die out, and as soon as the lodge is in complete darkness the feasters begin to eat. Before [533] eating, the host sings four songs. These are the clan songs and are only sung at these feasts or on the occasion of the death of a clansman.

Those who partake of food at the feast may be members of any clan except the Bear clan. The members of the latter clan do not eat at their own feast.

[264 415] Everyone attending must bring his own wooden spoon and must use it with his left hand. There are four wooden dishes in which the food is served. These are arranged in the lodge in a certain manner.

The guests sit around these dishes and eat with their own spoons. [805] The feast is given in the first bear month. Some one generally watches the moon and as soon as the new moon is visible the feast begins. The feathers and the tobacco to be offered are placed in four little troughs made of basswood bark, each about 1 foot long. These are then placed on the south side of the fireplace.

When the meal is over the attendant or Wolf clansman generally says a few words of thanks to the host and then the host in turn thanks those who have participated and tells them that the feast is now over. All now pass out, the one next to the host leaving first and the rest in succession, the host himself remaining until the end.

[778 782] When the feast is over the tobacco and the feathers are taken away from the lodge and carried in a southern direction to a place (under a tree) that has been especially cleared and sanctified. Any person may therafter go there, offer tobacco, and ask for long life.

614 796 537 782 Informant, member of the clan (male): "Well, soldiers, your moon is about to appear. It is good. So come forth, for it is at this time that the spirits asked to be remembered. Let us send, on this occasion, to the place at which we all originated, whatever we possess of wealth. This is what the spirits asked of old Let us therefore put the kettle on and prepare the feast.

"This is the way in which we prepare the feast. I offer only one small kettle. Here is my offering. I pray that what I offer may suffice and bring enough blessings from the spirits to include all the

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Indians who exist and especially those who are present at this feast. 614
For that reason do we deliver these speeches. We were told that 796
at the place where we originated our ancestors now remain, regard- 537
ing it as their home. There they expectantly await us. So our 782
ancestors spoke. Our offering at this feast is intended for that purpose. Let us pour tobacco for them. Let us place at the edge of the fire the four bark receptacles. Now listen to me for I am going to pour tobacco.

(He now addresses the four original clan beings.)

"On the north side, Earthmaker created you. Four brothers he placed there (you being one of them). And when one of them started for the earth those remaining asked to be remembered at this feast. These are the objects they asked to be given as offerings—tobacco, feathers, and boiled food. Earthmaker gave you that kind of life-giving material. We, in turn, ask you for this, so that when you take our offerings you will grant us what we ask. Here they are, the offerings with which you wished to be remembered. The spirits promised to give them. We are praying now not only for our own, but for all the clans. Our life will be strengthened, it was said. These words that I am telling you now, they used. We must act very cautiously in this, they said.

"If you place a portion of boiled food away as an offering, you must use it only in that particular place. Do not do otherwise. This way only is the correct way to do it."

Then he spoke to the attendant and said, "Are you ready? Go and get all these people who are to eat. They must bring their spoons with them."

Then the attendant brought the people into the lodge and put some food in their plates.

"Place the people around the plate and let them be seated," the host said. "Now turn the fire down and get ready. Hold your spoons in your left hand, for with that only are you allowed to eat. None of you must talk nor laugh. You must do what I tell you. Before the meal begins let us sing. Let us do it now." (They then
sing the four clan songs.) 614

"Thus they have told us. That way it was at the place where we 796
began life.

"Now the meal is over. We have had a minor council. We have acted correctly. It is good that you who are present have come at our request. You have eaten very well, and we thank you for it. This is what those from whom we originated told us to do. This council-feast they pleaded for. 'We should act very cautiously, they said. That you have done. It is good that you have eaten for our benefit. Now is about time for us to finish. I greet you all."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

THE BEAR CLAN FEAST (SECOND VERSION)

614 796 Informant, member of Bear clan: As soon as the first bear month is visible they have their feast. They do not use meat but products [805] of the earth. The feast is held at night, never in the daytime. The people always save up food some time before giving the feast. The [825] favorite dishes of the bear are sugar and blueberries. When they can not obtain these they use other vegetables. Indeed, any product of the earth is all right.

When they prepare to give the feast they get the food ready and have some tobacco on hand. On the first day of the first bear month they put on the fire some kettles with dried corn mixed with fruit and others containing green corn. The latter is boiled. They also have [203] ground sugar. When these are ready the feast attendant goes around the village to invite the people. When all have entered the lodge and taken their proper seats, then the host rises and addresses them:

614 796 537 "All my relatives who are seated here, I greet you. It is not through blessings of our own that we can always make offerings of tobacco. My grandfather was blessed by a spirit called Black Fur, a spirit who is in command of all the other spirits. This spirit told us that we could perform the ceremony in this way. It is for that reason we have made an effort to heat water for him.[6] The first request we make is that if we ever go on the warpath, we may conquer. Our grandfather was also blessed with life by the bear spirit[7] and he told him that he would grant him and his posterity whatever they asked. [782] We shall therefore send to this spirit a pipeful of tobacco, two kettles full of food, and some tree sap.[8] So much will we send him, accompanied by an offering of tobacco.

"As soon as the attendant gets everything ready the feasting will begin."

Then the attendant puts food in every plate, and when he has finished the host speaks again.

"Relatives, it is said that when the plates are supplied to you [264] filled with food, then you should begin to eat. Do not, however, use your right hands in eating."

The host tells the feasters to use their left hands in eating, and they obey him. Before starting to eat all the fires are put out and the people eat in the dark.

614 796 In the spring of the year this feast is given again. Twice a year it is given.

The feast[9] was always given with some choice dried corn that had been put away for this event. Once when it was time to give the [841] feast in the first bear month, the two daughters of the man who was

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[6] Boil soup and prepare food in general.

[7] Black Fur is apparently a ceremonial expression for bear.

[8] Ceremonial name for maple sugar.

[9] What follows is an account of why this particular feast was discontinued.

to give it had their menses and were fasting. When the feast was 614
about to be held there was no food and their mother gave the girls 796
some of the sacred food and the unclean girls boiled it and ate it. 841

The following spring when the girls were out helping their mother tan some hide a bear approached them and tried to kill the girls. The old woman fought the bear off as best she could, but he paid no attention to her and tried to get at the girls. Finally he killed the girls. Then the old woman attacked the bear and finally threw him down and killed him, using her tanning stick as a weapon.

Now this bear was not an ordinary bear such as live on this earth,
but his body was covered with blue clay. He had come out of a [776
spring of water shortly before he came to this place. The girls had 688]
eaten sacred food when they were unclean, and that is why this bear
came and killed them.

Since then that particular band has stopped giving this bear feast.

THE SNAKE CLAN FEAST

When a person wishes to give a snake feast, four chickens must be 796
obtained. The nephew of the feast giver is then told to prepare these 614
chickens and make the general preparations.

The feast is given in the fall, just as the snakes are supposed to
go into their winter quarters and close their doors. The winter is [825]
their night, and then they go to sleep.

Shortly before the feast begins the host takes out a bundle containing four snake skins—a yellow-snake skin, a rattlesnake skin, a blow-snake skin, and a bull-snake skin. In honor of these he gives his feast and makes his offerings.

As the fall of the year is to the snakes the same as our evening, the
Winnebago give this feast in their honor then, in much the same way
as we have our supper before retiring for the night. The snake skins
are representatives of the first four snakes Earthmaker made and [773]
which he pierced through the earth in the direction of the east. The
snake skins are kept to represent the four original snake-beings and
to keep evil away from homes. That is why offerings are made to
them. Four men only are invited to this feast (as main participants),
and they must each eat a chicken.

The host himself opens the door for the snakes. In front of him,
next to the fireplace, he makes four holes in the ground, thus opening
the door for them. There he likewise places tobacco for them.
First he pours tobacco in the fire, for the fire is the mediator be- [782]
tween the people and the spirit. The fire tells the spirit the wishes
of the people and is, in general, in charge of the members of the tribe.
For that reason they always pour tobacco upon it. 796

Now the host rises and speaks. "Grandfather (fire), you who 614
stand in the center of the lodge, I offer you tobacco, for you are the 537
interpreter (between the spirits and human beings), and I know that 372

796 614 537 [372] you will deliver the requests I address to our grandfather-who-crawls (the snake), just as I have said them. I offer you tobacco.

● [782] "To you likewise, grandfathers, you whom Earthmaker created first and placed within the earth; you whom Earthmaker placed in control of abundance of life and whose war clubs were made heavy, so that nothing could miss them; to you we offer these things. Whatever you can give us, we ask of you in return. Here are our offerings of food, tobacco, and eagle feathers. We place them here at your door. We ask that you bless us with victory in war. We know that the weapons you carry make you invulnerable, and we wish likewise to be invulnerable. You never fail to obtain what you desire with your clubs, and we ask that the same power be bestowed upon us. As the years pass may the blessing we obtain increase in power. When you look out upon the world life emanates from your eyes. May this life be given to our posterity. As we strut about in the short number of days allotted to us may you keep out of our path, so that we may not be frightened. Yet should we cross any of your paths may we be strengthened thereby. It is said that you are the grass, and that is why we ask you to bless us. Bless us because you are in possession of the life which we desire. For these reasons do we offer you tobacco, feathers, and food."

796 614 [782] Then the host poured tobacco into the four holes that he had made in the ground and placed feathers there. Then he took a little food from each of the kettles and poured it into the four holes. After that he greased the heads of the snake skins which were lying before him with kettle grease and poured tobacco on the heads of the snakes. He asked all his relatives to offer tobacco likewise and he put tobacco into the holes again and poured some upon the heads of the snakes.

When those invited have arrived, someone who is a good speaker sits near the entrance, while another good speaker sits near the farthest end. After all have entered, the leader of the four participants makes the circuit of the fireplace four times. He then sits down, and the host greets each one in turn, as follows:

796 614 537 "I greet you all. It is good. How could I say aught but that it is good! I am a poor worthless fellow, yet you have remembered me. It is good. You did not look upon my unworthiness and think within your hearts he is a worthless fellow, but you thought of the spirits, and therefore you came to sit with me so that I might see your face. It is good. I have obtained four chickens, and the attendant is now cooking them. I suppose he has cooked them by this time, and we will soon be able to eat them.

"I am attempting to cook water for the beings first created, so that we might be blessed with victory in war, and with life. That is what we are asking and what we would like to obtain from them before they (the spirits) retire for the night. It is our desire to be blessed year in, year out.

"Your plates will be filled soon, so let me greet you again, you 796
(humans) who are taking the place of the spirits. All you who are 614
present I greet." 537

The attendant now takes the kettles from the fire and takes the plate of the first of those sitting in the row. Then he takes the sharp stick that he holds in his hand, sticks it through one of the four chickens, and puts it in the plate of the first man. He passes the plate around the kettle four times, going from right to left, and finally he places it before the feaster. The feaster then says, "I thank you all," and the attendant passes on to the next one, and so in succession until he comes to the last person. Then the one first invited rises and says, "All those present, the host and the three other guests, do I greet." Then the speaker addresses the one sitting next to him, who greets him in return. In the same way he greets the third and the fourth one. Then he speaks as follows:

"It is good. Who would not be thankful for this? The host and his relatives present here are praying for life and victory, to the four greatest spirits Earthmaker ever made, to those spirits whom he pierced through the earth so that it might hold together. All the snakes whom we see on the earth are ruled by these four. From them have they asked blessings. The first human beings on earth saw these spirits face to face and, we are told, they used them for protection. These we see before us as the host has laid them out. We are told that blessings can be obtained by the use of these snakes.

"I am indeed not a fit person to be invited to such a gathering as
this, but the host has kindly overlooked my faults. My grand-
father fasted and thirsted himself to death and he was blessed and
his spirit taken to a spirit-home. That is what happened to my
grandfather, for he told me this himself. The place where he was [787]
blessed was at Red Banks at a place where a creek flows into the
sea (Green Bay). At the fork of this creek there was a hill lying east and west. It is there that the yellow snake-chief lives. To the home of this snake-chief my grandfather was taken. This snake was at this place gathering tobacco for all the spirits. There my grandfather was even blessed with their bodies. For this reason I always pour tobacco for them. And I have been given to understand that the spirits do not overlook the least fault (in the performance of the feast). They are always in our midst just as even the grass and the dust represent snakes. They know everything, they say. It is not safe to cross their path. As, however, the host is now making an offering to them, should we cross their path now it would even strengthen us. It is good. These clubs are heavy and they will not fail to strike everything within their reach. The host has asked for that power so that he might have victory (in war). They, the spirits, also have life to dispose of and
that we ask of them also, giving them these offerings of tobacco, [782]
feathers, and food.

796 feathers, and food. They will bless us I am certain, for I am told
614 that they even know our thoughts and wishes (before we express
537 them), and are willing to grant them if we pour tobacco while making
[782] them. However, to-day we have done more. We have openly
made a great offering to them. How could any spirit fail to see
such an offering? For that reason (I know) they will surely bless
us. And the blessings asked for the posterity will surely be granted.
I feel that when I go home and talk to my children afterwards, they will
be strengthened by the fact that I have taken part in the feast. All who
are present, I greet. You, the host, I also greet. I greet you all."

Then the second one invited rises and speaks. He thanks the host for the privilege of having been invited and encourages him and assures every one that they will surely be blessed, telling them why they should be blessed.

Then the third one rises and says approximately the same as his predecessor. He also tells how his grandfather was blessed by the snakes, etc.

Then the fourth one speaks, telling what the snakes do and that he himself was a member of the Snake clan and was consequently descended from the snakes. Inasmuch as he had partaken of the feast, all who were present would surely be blessed by the snakes. He assured them that what they asked would surely be granted. Then he greeted them and concluded.

After that, all the four participants greet each other in turn again and when this is over they sit down and begin the feast. Each person must eat a chicken apiece. They must not leave anything on the plate, for it is a sacred feast. After they have eaten the chicken they are given soup to drink.

When the feast is over the host throws cedar branches into the fire and the plates and the spoons are held over the smoke in order to purify them. The host then rises and says:

"You, the first invited, and you, the second invited, etc., I greet you all. It is good that you have come and occupied seats at my request and I am grateful to you for it. Even were that all the blessing I was to receive, it would (be enough). But you have assured me that I would receive the blessings I longed for. You truly encouraged me. You told me of your grandfathers' blessings, so that I feel positive that I am blessed, for your grandfathers' blessings were surely great and I am sure everything could be obtained with them. Surely your grandfathers' blessings were equal to those of the spirits. It is good that you have indeed partaken of my feast. This must be what the older people said: 'Your life is (naturally) weak and you can only be strengthened by the counsel and advice of brave men.' Truly you have counciled with me and given me enough to live on. I thank you for the speeches you have delivered, for it is life to me. It is good. I greet you all."

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The host at the same time puts himself in readiness to receive the guests.

[534] The two drums to be used are placed in the proper position with tobacco on top as an offering. The two gourds to be used are arranged in the same way, with offerings of tobacco on top. These four articles are placed in a row in front of the host, who pours tobacco upon them again and asks them for life.

[782] The host now rises and speaks as follows (first, however, offering tobacco to the fire, and telling the people of his own band how he had obtained his blessing, and from what source it had come):

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"Grandfathers, when you blessed my grandfather with life you promised that as often as we would boil food for you and offer you a pipeful of tobacco, you would smoke it. So it has been said. Boiled water from an animal whom you considered the same as our own body, and spirit food he extended to you, as well as a pipeful of tobacco. This we also are sending you. And what could we ask of you in return but war? That it may be directed toward us, we pray you. Grandfathers, you who are called Happy Nights, when you blessed our grandfather you blessed him with endless war. So it has been said. That is what we ask for, that as you blessed our grandfather, so you bless us. We ask for the same things. You, likewise, grandfather, you who are called The-one-with-rounded-wood, when you blessed my grandfather you blessed him with life. That is what he said, and you asked him in return to make offerings of tobacco. Here is the tobacco. This night we are going to ask life of you. We desire that you give us and all who will be here to-night, life. As many people as will be seated here, we ask life for all of them."

[782] Then all who are present rise and, holding tobacco in each hand, walk around the lodge, pouring tobacco on the drums and the gourds, and some of it into the fire. They pour tobacco into the fire for the Night Spirits. For the Beings-with-rounded-wood they offer tobacco by pouring it upon the drums. The offering is made both to the drums and to the gourds directly. The tobacco bundles tied to the invitation sticks are offered to the four cardinal points and the four specially invited guests smoke this tobacco, because they are supposed to represent the four cardinal points. Behind the respective invited guests are placed two women, next to the wall, so that they might lead in the dance. When the invited guests come to the feast these women remain outside until the starting songs have been begun.

[533] The host sings these songs first and when he has finished the first invited guest enters the lodge, ejaculating peculiar sounds (that are probably meant as greetings). Continuing these sounds, he walks around the lodge until he comes to the place from which he has started. There he stops and speaks. "You who obtain life, you

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575 did not put us in charge of anything, and that for that reason the
539 tobacco we received is our greatest and foremost thing. So the old
people said. We were told that we should use it to ask for life. This must have been what they meant. This, the instrument with which to ask life, is, I feel sure, sufficient to attract them and they will surely take notice of it. We may also follow him who is taking the place of the spirits, and we will consider all those who are in the lodge blest. Those whom we call Nights have been offered tobacco, and the same has been offered to the four cardinal points, and to all the life-giving plants. To this many tobacco has been offered. It will strengthen us. This is what we call imitating the spirits, and that is why we are doing it. Children of the night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you all. The song we will now start is a pipe-lighting song."

When he finished singing he greeted all those in the lodge and then he lit his pipe. Then he took a number of puffs. First he inhaled some smoke and blew it toward the east, then toward the
● [782] north, then toward the west, then toward the south. Then he passed
it around and all smoked, except the host, who is not permitted to do so. Then the east leader spoke again as follows:

"Night-blessed ones who are seated here, I greet you. The instrument with which to ask life I will now place here, and if any of you want to fill your pipes you may do so."

Then the leader of the north band rose and spoke as follows:

"Councilors and life-obtainers, you who sit in the direction where the day comes from, you who sit on the other side, in the west, and you who sit at the end of the road, your seats I all greet. We, too, have been anxious to obtain the instrument whereby we ask life, and therefore we fill a pipe for ourselves. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band rose and said as follows:

"If the leader of the north band has finished his greeting, I also would very much like to have the instrument with which we ask life brought to me. We will immediately go and fill a pipe. I am speaking now because I wish to tell you what I intend to do. I greet you."

The leader of the north band did not pass the pipe that he had filled all around the lodge, but merely passed it to the members of his band. Only they smoked from it. In the same way the leaders of the other bands, with the exception of the host's band, passed the pipe only to members of their individual band. Only the host passed his pipe all around the lodge. When the smoking was over the leader of the east band rose and greeted everyone. Then he spoke as follows:

[787 "Our grandfathers used to carry on this ceremony, I have been
776] told. They told me that if at any time the giver of this ceremony

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plant and blessed him with long life and with victorious warpaths. 796
He asked to be remembered by Hodja'noka in his offerings. The 575
buffalo-spirit told him that if he would pour tobacco for him, and 539
give feasts and make offerings of eagle feathers, the blessings he had [782]
given him would last forever.

"All these blessings were handed down to my father. These I
also was taught. This life do we pray for and we have asked you
all to come and help us. We thank you for it. As soon as the 796
attendants are finished with the preparation of the food then we 575
will eat. Our servants may perhaps burn their hands while preparing 539
the food, but they will obtain life by so doing. Those who possess war bundles are always told to help one another and I know that you have come here for that reason. Life I am seeking and that is why I am giving this feast. Help me, all you owners of bundles who are present here. I will now sing some of the songs that Hodja'noka taught us. You who have obtained blessings, I greet you."

Then he sang the following songs:

Song 1 [573]

Nangura homa'ni hiwilĕ. (Repeat.)
In the road walk let him do.

Song 2

Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka Walk by.

Song 3

Kăra Hodja'noka hamani'winĕ.
Say, Hodjanoka Walk by.

Dancing song

Hodja'noka tcawawi'rĕ. (Repeat.)
Hodjanoka go toward.
Erehu'ne. (Repeat twice.) Wiga'rĕ. (Repeat twice.)
It is coming say to them.

As soon as Hodja'noka finished his songs, then all the objects (drum, gourds, etc.) were passed to He-who-strikes-the-earth-with-his-wings, and he rose and spoke:

"Brother-in-law, councilors, relatives, all who are seated here, I greet you. You who have been blessed with bundles, I greet likewise. You are taking the place of the spirits. It is good. We are trying to encourage one another and we have come to help you. We have brought you food for the feast. We also are desirous of obtaining long life and that is why we have brought our offerings, for we know the buffalo-spirits will accept them, as they are very tempting. You who are taking the place of the spirits, I greet you."

796 Then he sings some songs and dances and passes the drum, etc.,
575 to the next guest and so it, in turn, is passed on until the fourth invited guest is reached. Then the drum is replaced in the center of the lodge.[18]

[782] Informant, unknown clan:[19] Buffalo feasts are given in spring, in fall, and in midwinter. No meat is offered, but only vegetables. The buffaloes said that maple sugar is their favorite food, so when this feast is given they always have some maple sugar along with the other things. The buffalo feast always takes place in a long lodge. The attendants make the lodge and boil all the food. When the kettles have been placed on the fire those giving the feast enter. The earth mound is now constructed and tobacco offered to it. All those giving the feast pour tobacco on the earth mound, asking for victory in war. When this is finished they sing buffalo songs, starting with the initial songs. When they are ready to sing the dancing songs the feast-giver rises and speaks as follows:

"The dancing songs that we are about to sing we use because we believe that our offering will thus be accepted. It is generally the custom to do this."

He now calls on some one to lead in the dance. This individual is always taken from the Buffalo clan. He comes forward, placing the buffalo head on his own head and carrying the buffalo tail attached to himself. He leads in all the dances, the others following him. A plate of maple sugar is placed at the buffalo mound. When he approaches the buffalo mound he makes a noise like a buffalo, sticks his tongue to the plate of sugar, and licks up some of it. Those following do the same. This they do without even holding the dish, just as buffaloes eat. When they finish their dancing they pass the drum on to another person, and when it has made the circuit of the lodge they eat. Each person has his own dish. Then the leader in the dance is told that the dish of wild rice standing in the center of the lodge is meant for him, and that he can invite whomsoever he likes to help him. When all in the lodge are ready they start eating all at the same time. When those in the center of the lodge get through and the dish is empty it is thrown over their heads, and they do not stop this until the dish has been turned upside down. While they are engaged in doing this they bellow like buffaloes. They are not allowed to use their hands in turning the dish over. They must do it with their heads, for it is a sacred thing and that is the way the buffaloes used to do it. When they are all through eating the feast-giver sings a dancing song and all those within the lodge rise, take their plates, and dance out of the lodge.

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[18] In this account it is not quite clear whether the drum is merely passed to the four principal guests or to all. At the buffalo dance witnessed by the writer in the summer of 1908 it was passed only to the four principal guests. This was also corroborated by a number of informants.

[19] The origin myth of this feast is given on page 243.

Description of buffalo dance and its origin.—Informant, member of 796
Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been 575
blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had
animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but [787]
since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather.

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose 796
dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. 575
In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers 787
to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute.

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those 796
whom they want. 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people [203]
make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side.

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE GRIZZLY BEAR

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Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was 575
given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the 787
grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason [562]
they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called maⁿwarap'uru. The maⁿwarap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he scents a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both [782]
in the center and at the four points.

756 796 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wa-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

Presentation-of-food ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "*yoho*—

CHAPTER XV

MISCELLANEOUS DANCES

THE HOK'IXE'RE DANCE

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: This is the way in 727
which people used to bring scalps to one another. When a man
returns from the warpath with a scalp he leaves it outside of the
village and the warriors run out with their clubs and strike it and [555]
count coup (just as on the battlefield). As they count coup they
call out their names. Then they are told what ceremonial dress
they are to wear. They then send a messenger to the person to
whom the scalp is to be presented to tell him to select a pole (for
the victory dance). He thanks them and says, "It is good." Then
the warriors who are returning arrange themselves in a circle around
this pole and dance around it. He who has obtained the first war
honor leads.

The one to whom they present the scalp thanks the spirits who [782]
are in control of war powers and then raising his hand prays to the
Sun. Then he sings a song and when that is finished sits down,
beats the drum, and sings a dancing song, while the others dance.

Then the owner of the scalp, turning toward the spirits who are
in control of war, gives the victory whoop four times. After each
whoop all the other people in the lodge strike their mouths with [201]
their hands and yell. After the victory whoops have been given,
all dance the victory dance.

Then the man who has received the scalp lets his sisters, his aunts,
and his nieces select the war presents which are always bestowed [431]
upon them. With these tied around their necks they dance. Toward
evening they finish the victory dance and then all enter the (dancing)
lodge. He to whom the scalp is given is the host and he sits
down first. Then comes the donor and then in a row the four who
have counted coup.

The ceremony begins with songs sung by the host. He first sings 727
two war-bundle songs (*waruxa'p na^{n}wa^n*) and then two night songs 796
(*ha^{n}he' na^{n}wa^n*). When these are finished the meal is eaten. Before
eating, all the animal heads are placed in front of the donor of the
scalp and he selects those men with whom he wishes to share them.

Then the host rises and says, "War-bundle owners who are seated
here, I greet you all. Our warrior (the donor) will eat together with

head eating. Then the donor selected his partners. The host then 727 began to sing. The scalp was taken down from the post and placed 796 in a dish near the door. The soul of the scalp still remained within it, so they tried again to make it less powerful and to conquer it, [774] for they knew that if they succeeded in conquering it all the life that was still coming to the possessor of the scalp at his death would be obtained for themselves. Then the dancers and the feasters, indeed all who had counted coup, tried to obtain some of the dead enemy's residuary life. All tried to add some new life to their own.

When the meal was over, then the host offered tobacco to the [782] spirits, and all those present prayed for war to the spirits to whom offerings had been made. They asked that if it be their good fortune to kill a number of people on the warpath, when they returned home they would be as thankful as they are now. All these warriors who were taking part in this dance liked it very much.

Then the host struck the drum that had been placed in front of him and sang. When he finished, he had the drum placed in front of the man who had counted first coup. Then this man sang and the drum was passed to the next man, and so on until each man had sung. After all had sung and spoken the men and women together danced around the lodge. The woman who had received the presents led the dance, carrying the scalp. The people believed that the scalp was dancing with them. All night they danced the *hok'ixe're* dance without resting at any time, and when the sun appeared they took the drum outside to the post and danced the victory dance. Then when the sun was high in the heavens they stopped and went to sleep. In the evening when the sun was low they danced the victory dance again, and then when it was pretty dark, singing slow songs, they slowly entered the lodge again. Then they made a circuit of the lodge and placed the drum in the middle of the lodge.

The feast was now ready. All that they were to eat—deer, bear, [263] dog—were placed in front of the feasters. Food was brought to the donor and all those who were sitting together with him, as well as all those who had counted coup and all the women who had received presents. Head eating is holy, and if one eats part of the [264] head it is thought that it will help him greatly.

Then the host rose and spoke as follows:

"The servants who are carrying the food around here will probably not have enough to go around, but you must remember that not the men but the women are furnishing the food. Although it is little, I hope you will eat it. We will now sing four songs." Then he sang two war-bundle songs and two night songs. Before they ate the host rose and spoke, "This is a small feast and we will try to give food to our grandfather (some spirit) who is in charge of this

The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no 796
particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the 614
open air.

[535]

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manąp'e'ra naⁿjiⁿwinĕ. 796
Soldiers get up. 614

II

Wajaⁿnijaⁿ tcexigi'ji naⁿji'a'nijĕ. 533
Something difficult get ready. 539
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manąp'e'ra newine'naⁿ hu'nagiredra.
Soldiers—I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manąp'e'ra hi'jaⁿ wine'naⁿ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

CEREMONY OF UANOERU

(BEGGING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the 735
maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise [532]
around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

FEAST TO BUFFALO TAIL

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. 787
There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war [782]
bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast 778]
is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground 527
corn is boiled in making the feast.

KIKRE WACI AND TCEBOKONAⁿK DANCES

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called 535
tcebokonaⁿk (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux 177
origin.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself;
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became
attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 55, a)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupetci* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for
punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated
in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone
excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was
a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while
there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried
to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any
way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote,
now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good
things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for
participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began
to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years
ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for
many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult
were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of
the Trinity."

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794 276 159 177 our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

159 484 Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Rod-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. [544] Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they held their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

[782] When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

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[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man 159
acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia 794
were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side 276
because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt 796
ashamed of myself.

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earth-
maker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the [782]
sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." Hovewer, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him.

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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x 796 themselves; and, lastly, the order in which the guests are invited (pls. 56, 57, 58).

x 796 121 It follows from the above remarks that in order to get a really complete account of the entire ceremony information should be obtained from each clan. The account given by any one clan will only contain the origin myth and the songs belonging to the war bundle of that clan, for although it is part of the ceremony to relate the origin myths of the various war bundles and sing the specific songs connected with them, no individual would take it upon himself to tell any but those relating to the war bundle of his own clan. Thus it will be seen that any single account is defective in some rather important particulars.

ANALYTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE CEREMONY

x 796 The ceremony falls into three well-defined parts: I, the Sweat Lodge; II, the First Division, generally known either as the Feast in honor of Earthmaker or the Feast in honor of the Thunderbirds; and III, the Second Division, known as the Feast in honor of the Night Spirits.

[782] There is little to be said about the Sweat Lodge, for it consists exclusively of offerings of tobacco and prayers to the spirits, on the part of the one giving the ceremony, whom we will call the host.

The first division can be divided into the following component elements: (1) The preparation of the buckskins; (2) the dog sacrifice; (3) the filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual; (4) the tobacco offering to the spirits; (5) the buckskin offerings to the spirits; (6) the feast; (7) the fast-eating contest; and (8) the basic ritual.

The second division can be divided into the following component elements: (4) The tobacco offering to the spirits; (9) the throwing out of the buckskins; (6) the feast; (10) the episode of the "Night-crazed" warrior; (11) the terminal dog ritual; and (8) the basic ritual.

[887] (1) *The preparation of the buckskins.*—The buckskins, made as white as possible by old women, are taken into the lodge by the host and there marked in the manner prescribed for each spirit. They are then tied to a framework and rolled to the top of this frame.

[782 825] (2) *The dog sacrifice.*—The dog is strangled and a pouch of tobacco is tied to each limb, and another pouch and red feathers are tied around his neck. The body is then laid in front of the war bundle, facing south, this being the direction in which Disease-giver, the [776] spirit to whom the dog is specially sacrificed, lives.

Before strangling, a short speech is addressed to the dog in which the slayer apologizes for killing him, and assures him that in the

place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here 796x
among men.

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the 796x
basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some 782
tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle.
As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed [276
vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung
the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that 782]
all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is
again filled.

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case
the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is [782]
different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the
west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for [776]
Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for
the earth and the spirits that live under the earth.

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the
frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to
the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it.
Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned
specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being
really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, [823]
above, and below.

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times: once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division.

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the 796x
following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, 776
Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonayi're Uankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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x796 are made to them. Only the following spirits receive buckskins: [782 Thunderbird, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, South Wind, Sun, Earth-776] maker, Moon, Morning Star, Earth, and Water.

(6) *The feasts.* There are two feasts, the one in the first division of the ceremony being generally known as the Thunderbird and that in the second division as the Night Spirit feast.

The guests are always divided into two divisions, the owners of [554] war bundles and their male followers, and the women. The former, who are always warriors of repute, get the choice pieces of the deer, i. e., the heads, and the rest get the other pieces generally referred to as "the common pieces." The heads are eaten after those eating the common pieces have finished.

The host never eats at the feast he gives, but while the others are eating he plays on his reed flute.

(7) *The fast-eating contest.* Before the heads are eaten two men [264] belonging to the upper phratry and two belonging to the lower (i. e., generally two members of the Thunderbird clan and two members of the Bear clan) are selected to take part in the fast-eating contest. This consists of consuming an equal amount of food. The one who finishes first is considered the greater warrior. Both contestants start at a given signal and continue the contest to the accompaniment of songs sung by the other guests.

When a member of the upper phratry gives the ceremony his side always wins, and vice versa.

(8) *The basic ritual.* After the buckskin ritual has been finished the host begins what is unquestionably the fundamental part of the ceremony, which I have called the "basic ritual." It consists of four speeches, each speech followed by a different set of songs. The first speech is followed by a set of war-bundle songs; the second by a paint set; the third by a Disease-giver set; and the last by a Night Spirit set. The last speech also contains a fasting experience of the first owner of the war bundle. When he is finished, the general feast and the fast-eating contest take place, and the basic ritual is for the time interrupted. It is continued as soon as these are finished, but not in the same manner as performed by the host. Instead of four speeches there is only one. As soon as one guest finishes speaking the other begins, and so on until all have finished.[1]

In the second division of the ceremony the basic ritual is performed in a slightly different manner. In the first place there seem to be two parts to it, the first one quite different from the basic ritual as given in the first division, and the second identical with it except that instead of seven there are only four guests called upon to speak.

In the first part of the basic ritual, as given here, the host delivers three speeches. After the first one a set of Night Spirit songs are x 796 721 575 the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

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[1] Additional information on the Winter Feasts might lead me to an alteration of this last statement. In addition to the present, three more accounts of Winter Feasts were received.

[787] The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked [614] resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals [787] they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as—and this should never be forgotten—the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing [182 177] to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still [782] the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hōk'ixe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for 614 778 instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this when he appears to an individual. The Thunderbirds are conceived 776 of theoretically as birds, but always appear to human beings in human shape. As it is believed by the shaman that the spirits are a *tertium quid*, neither animal nor man, but possessing infinite powers of transformation now into the one, now into the other, it is rather difficult to indicate their precise nature except in this negative way. For the ordinary individual doubtless their anthropomorphic nature stands out most prominently.

According to shamanistic cosmology, although the greater spirits are given control of various powers, still, in general, each spirit is given control of some specific power. The shamanistic account goes on to say that, upon the creation of man, Earthmaker, realizing that he had no powers to bestow upon him, decided to give him at least the means of obtaining those powers he had given the spirits [773] and presented him with tobacco, telling him that if he offered it in the proper manner the spirits would feel constrained to accept it and give him, in exchange, whatever powers they possessed. The popular account of the origin of tobacco was quite different. However, it was on the shamanistic theory that offerings were made. The arrangement between the spirits and man was in the nature of a contract, with this peculiarity, that the spirits did not have to accept the offerings. The prayers are generally couched in this manner: "If you, the spirits, accept my offerings, then grant me your blessings or a continuance [782] of those my ancestors received." They were, however, theoretically always left the alternative of refusing. In practice it was not believed that the spirits exercised their prerogative of refusal, but that in certain cases the offerings were not made in the proper fashion. The moment the tobacco was accepted, the blessing followed of itself, almost without the will of the spirit. This purely mechanical relation between acceptance of the tobacco and bestowal of power comes out excellently in one of the myths. The Winnebago are sacrificing to the Buffalo Spirits and the smoke of their tobacco offering is ascending to the spirit-land where the Buffalo Spirits dwell. The chief of the spirits warns the younger ones not to approach too closely to the ascending fumes, for they are but spirits and the desire for tobacco might get the better of their discretion and induce them to accept it. [773] If they do, they are lost, for they will then have to go down to the earth and be killed. No power they possess, nor any power the chief possesses, can save them. This "mechanical" explanation seems to me quite significant, for it probably embodies the older point of view and the point of view of the less enlightened Winnebago. As such, it is to be contrasted with the later shamanistic development with its contract and the shifting of the spirit's rôle from one of passive acceptance to that of a spirit-deity who withholds his approbation unless the offering is properly made.

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776 787 782 The elements necessary to the acceptance of offerings are twofold—the specified amount of material and the proper state of mind. The first is quite clear, but the second needs some explanation. To the Winnebago the emotional condition of a suppliant for power from the spirits is all important, and the proper emotional condition is one which they call "concentration of mind," by which they signify a complete absorption of the individual in the prayer he is making. Theoretically even the slightest interest in any other object is liable to destroy the entire efficacy of the prayer. I say theoretically, for if the prayer seems to be answered a consciousness of failure to come up to the ideal never obtrudes itself. If, however, there is reason to believe that the prayer has not been answered, then the explanation would always be that there had been either a shift of attention or a lack of emotional intensity. This is not the only explanation given for lack of success in the case of a ceremony, for there, by an extension of the principle of the "concentration of mind" to all those who participated, failure might be attributable to a large number of causes.

The popular explanation was, I believe, different. Failure was either not discussed at all and looked upon from the common-sense point of view as one of life's accidents or, if explanation was necessary, regarded as a sign that the spirits had not been tempted to accept the alluring offers.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that much philosophizing took place over failure. Failure that entailed the death of an individual was likely to call forth not explanations as to what the failure was attributable, but desire for revenge.

776 782 With the exception of food and tobacco, which were extended to all, the offerings to the various spirits differed in nature. To the eleven great deities (i. e., including He'rok'a, who is not mentioned in the following account) tobacco, food (i. e., both soup and meat), and buckskins were offered. There was, however, further differentiation. To the great war deities red eagle feathers were offered in addition; to Disease-giver and Thunderbird two dogs were sacrificed; to Earth and Sun herbs and maple sugar were given; and to the Moon, bear ribs.

Having thus briefly sketched the general nature of the spirits connected with the war-bundle feast and the general theory of the offering, we will turn to a specific enumeration of the spirits.

776 *Earthmaker.*—Variously known in Winnebago as Ma'ųna, Earthmaker, Wajągų'zera, Creator, and Waxopi'ni Xe'tera, Great Spirit. Ma'ųna is, by far, the most usual appellation; Wajągų'zera is found only in rituals, and Waxop'ini Xe'tera is more or less obsolete, although not within the popular cycles relating to the Trickster, Hare, Turtle, Red-Horn, and the Twins.

myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from 776
a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth.

The Water.—Generally known as nįŋa, water, but ritualistically as hųŋge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the [789]
famous "paint" medicines (wâse').

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

Eagle.—Always known as Tcaxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity [614]
and a clan animal.

Pigeon Hawk.—Always known as K'īrjk'īrī'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

Wönayi're Uaŋkcik.—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

North Wind.—Known as Wazī'regi hūhī'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

Black Hawk.—Known as k'eredjų sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

Day.—Known as hąp, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits [782]
and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hë'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting.

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number 778
of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father.

The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross 796x
in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with 778
Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has 782
been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not [177]
to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the
identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the
crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its
association with Earthmaker (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hĕ'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants 796x
put the meat in the kettles and place the same on the various fire-
places. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the
women and children.

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance,
on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite [554]
him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan,
but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan.
Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fire-
place. The women and children sit separated from the others at the
extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38).

×796 778 ●782 After the buckskins have been marked the host arranges them on frames. The buckskin to Earthmaker is so arranged on its frame that the head points upward; that to the Thunderbirds is so arranged that its head points toward the west; that to the Night Spirits, that its head points to the east; that to the Morning Star, that its head points to the east; and those to the Earth and Water, that their heads point downward. After they have been attached to the frame they are rolled up, and the ceremony can be said to have begun. Then the guests enter, no order being observed in the manner of entering. As soon as they have all taken their places, the oldest warrior belonging to the host's band is called upon to offer tobacco to the spirits. This he does by going to the main fireplace, offering up brief prayers, and at the conclusion of each one pouring tobacco into the fire. The first prayer is always to the fire itself.[8] When he is finished, the host takes the buckskins, unrolls them, and distributes them to the various guests. The buckskin for the Thunderbirds is always given to the guest of honor, and the others are given in the following rotation: Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, Earthmaker, Sun, Morning Star, Night Spirits, Moon, Earth, and Water. The buckskin to Earthmaker is assigned to the middle guest, but as he is the first guest to speak, the buckskin itself is hung on the center pole that is erected in the front portion of the lodge.

After the guests have received their buckskins they stand in their respective positions, holding the buckskin in one hand and some tobacco in the other. The host concludes his remarks, and then taking his flute, blows upon it. After this he sings two songs, accompanying himself with his gourd rattles. Then the buckskins are rolled up again, but in such a way that the markings still remain visible, and hung up just west of the first fireplace, with the exception of the Earthmaker's buckskin. The host now takes the war bundle, opens it, and places it at the foot of the center pole. He then makes the circuit of the lodge, pouring some tobacco into the hands of each invited guest. When this is finished, he pours some tobacco upon the war bundle and some into the fire and proceeds to offer prayers to all the spirits, asking each in turn for life and victory on the warpath. When he is through all the guests pour tobacco on the war [858] bundle and into the fire. Children are often allowed to pour tobacco also, the attendants bringing them from the western portion of the lodge. After the offerings of tobacco are finished the offerings of buckskin are made. Then the basic ritual is started by the host. He takes the flutes, drum, and gourds and sings in his own place. [579] There are many different sets of songs, and every time he starts a different set he first blows upon his flute. The songs for the Thunderbird have eight starting songs and six dancing songs. When the

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[8] This prayer, for some unknown reason, is omitted in the following account. It was obtained, however, in connection with another account of the same ceremony.

dancing songs are begun, all the men go to the war bundle and dance 796x
around it. The flute is continually blown during the dancing. 778
Women may dance at their end of the lodge. The basic ritual is 782
then continued. [534]

When the last starting song is finished the host rises and, ejaculating *ho o—o*, pours tobacco into the fireplace four times. Just when the food is about cooked four special songs are sung. Then the Thunderbird feast takes place. All the bones that have been left on the plate of the guest impersonating the Disease-giver are taken out by the host himself, carried in an eastward direction, and placed very carefully at the foot of some tree that has been especially
selected. Tobacco and red feathers are poured upon these bones, [783
The plates used by the same person are purified with arbor vitæ. The
bones left on the plates of the other guests may be thrown anywhere, 824]
provided the ground on which they are scattered has been purified. When the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. When this is finished the first division of the ceremony is concluded.

During the interval between the first and second divisions the 796x
attendants sweep the lodge and purify it with branches of arbor 778
vitæ; and new kettles with meat are placed on the fireplaces. Then
the host and guests enter. The host rises and distributes the buckskins [783]
again, and while he is doing this an attendant goes around the lodge and scatters swan feathers all over it. Some are even placed on the suspended kettles. The host, because he is going to sing Night Spirit songs, takes down the buckskin intended for that spirit, blackens his face with the embers of charcoal used in marking the buckskin, and puts some swan feathers on his head. Before the host starts singing the Night Spirit songs the pipestem is turned toward the east and the origin of the songs in question is told. Then the basic ritual is begun. When the dancing songs are being sung the guests may either go to where the war bundle lies and dance there or stay in their own places and dance. When the host has finished his part of the basic ritual, drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco are passed to the first guest, and when he is finished they are passed to the second and third guests. After that the basic ritual is for the time being discontinued and the ritual connected with throwing out of the buckskins intervenes, this in turn being followed by the Night Spirit feast. However, before the feast, as the drum, gourds, and flute are returned to the host, he has a kettle placed on the fire for the spirits living beneath the surface of the earth, and when the food in it has cooked he rises and sings paint songs (*wase'*). After the feast is over the basic ritual is continued. Some time before this ritual is finished the host takes his war bundle, wraps it up, and hangs it behind the place where he is sitting. When finally all the songs with the exception of four have been sung, the host calls upon some one with a very strong voice to give the war whoop four times. This the latter does, and after the last whoop all the guests join in. Then rising, all the guests dance out of the lodge and the ceremony is over.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE THUNDERBIRDS

Introductory remarks by Blowsnake, informant.—In winter, in midwinter, then it was that I used to pour tobacco.[9] That was the time I would go out and hunt for game. 539x 796x

Well, to-night, a vapor bath I shall take, and if I can secure food for boiling, that kind of a feast I shall give. As many of the leaders [515] as have come, that many shall be with me as I take a vapor bath in the sweat lodge. We are now about to enter the sweat lodge, for everything is in readiness.[10]

SWEAT-LODGE RITUAL

We entered the sweat lodge and undressed, and after we had entered they (the outsiders) closed the lodge covering. I took both [782] the tobacco and the other things I was to use as offerings with me.[11]

Host's salutation and initial speech to participants.—"I greet you; 796x I greet you all, war-bundle owners.[12] My grandparents, especially 539x my grandfather,[13] had concentrated their minds upon this for me. 782 The fireplace with which they blessed my grandfather,[14] that I am going to ask for myself. However weakly I may wobble about,[15] my elders will aid me. I am now going to pour a little tobacco and offer, my elders, whatever feast I am able to. War-bundle owners, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners, I greet you. Ye elders, I am about to pour tobacco for them (the spirits)."

Host's offering to Earthmaker.—"Hearken, Earthmaker, our father, 539x I am about to offer you a handful of tobacco.[16] My ancestor Djō- 793 benąŋgwi'ąxga[17] concentrated his mind upon you. The fireplaces 782 with which you blessed him;[18] the small amount of life you granted 776 to him; all, four times the blessings you bestowed upon my ancestor, that I ask of you directly. Also that I may have no troubles (in life)."

Host's offering to the chief of the Thunderbirds.—"To you, who live in the west, our grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, a handful of

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[9] "Pouring tobacco" is the ritualistic term for giving a feast.

[10] The informant has passed to the present tense now, for he is actually giving an account of the last War-bundle Feast he gave and imagining that the writer is present.

[11] The word tobacco in Winnebago rituals is used as a generic expression for an offering. Thus the word [illegible] means, literally, "What we are to offer as tobacco."

[12] Literally, "Children of the bundle."

[13] He does not really mean grandparents, but elders.

[14] The word here used for fireplace is a ritualistic one. It means, literally, "That one throws within something, i. e., an offering." It also has here the secondary meaning of food.

[15] Used metaphorically.

[16] I. e., the regular offering.

[17] An ancestor of the informant.

[18] Here "fireplaces" mean blessings, for only those who had blessings could erect fireplaces, and as a fireplace was erected for each separate spirit, the greater their number the greater the number of blessings. In all rituals it is customary to speak of blessings received, as well as of personal accomplishments, with an exaggerated modesty.

tobacco I am about to offer you. My grandfather Djõnenagiwi'ųxga 796x
you strengthened. The food, the deer-couple you gave him for his 539x
fireplaces, that I ask of you directly. May it be a fact that you 782
accept this tobacco from me and may I not meet with troubles (in 776
life)."

Host's offering to the Great Black Hawk.—"You also blessed my grandfather, Great Black Hawk. Whatever food you blessed him with that I ask of you directly. Tobacco I am about to pour for you that you may smoke it. May troubles not come upon me; that I ask."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You on the other side, who live in the east, who walk in darkness,[a] tobacco I am about to offer you to smoke. Whatever you blessed my ancestor with, whatever fireplaces you blessed him with, those I ask of you. If you smoke this tobacco never will I be a weakling."

Host's offering to Disease-giver.—"You who live in the south; you who look like a man; who art invulnerable; who on one side of your body present death and on the other life, Disease-giver, as they call you. My ancestor in the daytime, in broad daylight, did you bless. With food you blessed him. You told him that he would never fail in anything. You told him that you would avoid his home.[b] You placed animals (i. e., food) in front of him that he should not be troubled about obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled by anything (in life)."

Host's offering to the Sun.—"To you, Light-Wanderer, an offering of tobacco I make. May it be my good fortune that you accept it. Whatever fireplaces you blessed him (i. e., my ancestor) with, those I ask of you directly. May I not be troubled by anything in life."

Host's offering to the Moon.—"You also, Grandmother Moon, blessed my ancestor with food. With whatever you blessed him, that I ask of you now directly. An offering of tobacco I am about to make for you now, so that you may smoke. Whatever blessings you bestowed upon my grandfather, I pray you to give me now, so that by reason of it I may never become a weakling."

Host's offering to the South Wind.—"To you, too, South Wind, I offer a handful of tobacco, that you may smoke it. May it so happen that you accept it and that I am spared troubles (in life). With whatsoever you blessed my ancestor, that I ask of you."

Host's offering to Earth.—"For you likewise, Grandmother Earth, will I pour tobacco. With whatever blessings you blessed my grandfather, those I ask of you. May I in that way never become a weakling."

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[a] [illegible], "those who walk in darkness," is the ritualistic name of the Night Spirits.

[b] I. e., that you would not permit disease and death to enter it.

Host's offering to the Eagle.—"To you, a pair of Eagles, my ancestor 539x
prayed. The blessings you bestowed upon him, those I ask of you. 796x
I am about to pour a handful of tobacco for you. May you accept it 782 ●
and ward off trouble from me." 776

Hosts general offering to the spirits.—"Hearken, all ye spirits to whom my ancestor prayed: to all of ye, I offer tobacco. My ancestor Djōbenagiw'ąxga gave a feast to all those who had blessed him.[a] However, as it is about time to proceed to the next part (we will ask you once again) to bestow upon us all the blessings you gave our ancestor. That we may not become weaklings, I ask of you. I greet you all."

THE DOG RITUAL

When they decide to use a dog (as a sacrifice) they take the greatest 539x
care of it from its infancy upward. With great kindness do they rear 796X
it. They never strike it when rearing it. Just like their own child 231
do they treat it. They take great care of its food. They love it very 782
much, just as they love their own children. Thus is the dog loved. If they are going to sacrifice it, then before they kill the dog they make the following preparation and the man who is to make the sacrifice speaks thus:

> "My younger brother, you are to go to the south; to the Disease-giver you are to go. There you will live better than here. War powers and life we wish to have and that you should ask for."

The dog is not to be killed by striking, but a rope is to be used and he is to be strangled to death, so that there will not be any blood. It is forbidden to shed blood. Thus they tried to make an offering to one of the great spirits.

When the dog is to be killed, the one who is to do it prepares him. A pouch of tobacco and red feathers are tied around the neck of the dog to be offered. Then the man made another pouch of tobacco and another, till he had four, and these with (eagle) feathers he tied to the four limbs, one pouch to each limb of the dog. Then the war bundle [783]
was opened and purified with cedar leaves. Then they laid the dog in front of the war bundle, making him face south.

GENERAL PLACING OF THE TOBACCO

When they have finished arranging the buckskins and are about 796x
ready to start the singing, then the feasters mix tobacco and strew 539x
it over the war bundle. They offer this tobacco for all the spirits 776
who exist. Even the man who originally obtained the war bundle 782

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[a] "And we are repeating this now," should be added. The word for feast here means literally "tobacco pouring."

will be present to smoke with them, it is said. And lest (through 796x
forgetfulness) they do not think of certain spirits they have some 539x
tobacco ready for these, that they may also smoke it. Wherever 782 ●
it is that the spirits have their gathering places there it is that the 776
tobacco goes. The Thunderbirds have a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. The Night Spirits have one also, it is said. The place that I spoke of as the one where Djobenąŋgiwi'ąxga was blessed, that is the tobacco-gathering place of the Night Spirits, Grandfather Djobenąŋgiwi'ąxga said. Up above there is also a tobacco-gathering place, it is said. And, again, on the earth there is a gathering place somewhere, it is said. Under the earth there is a gathering place somewhere also, it is said. The mixed tobacco is placed in the center of the long lodge, and though this is not pure tobacco there is plenty of it. The feasters try to consume all of it. They would smoke very much, for they desired (certain things from the spirits). Thus the feasters would encourage one another, for they, the spirits, loved holy tobacco. "Try to make them smoke as much tobacco as possible that you may obtain war powers, it is said."

He (the host) smoked for them (the spirits). He also encouraged the feasters (to smoke) and had the attendants go repeatedly to fill the pipe of the guests seated in the lodge. "Be diligent," he told them "and try to smoke as much as you can." All night he offered them tobacco to smoke, it is said.[38]

THE TOBACCO OFFERING TO THE SPIRITS

Host's initial speech. "Six white buckskins, with enough material for as many pairs of moccasins, I am going to send to our grandparents. They will be able to recognize (the buckskins) by the marks upon them.[39] If (spirits) you recognize them, it is our desire that you take these buckskins. That is why I am doing this. I hope, also, that our grandfathers will accept our food offerings. That is why I am making them. Many are the war-bundle owners who are sitting here; the lodge tent is full of them. I am thankful for it. I am going to make you very tired; I am going to make you very hungry; but I know you never thought of that.[40] You are thinking only of our grandfathers, the spirits, and that is why you have permitted my lodge to become filled up with people. It is good. All ye war-bundle owners who are seated here within, I greet you. I am now going to pour tobacco."

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[38] This was omitted in the account as first obtained and was told afterwards. For this reason it partakes more of a general description than of a detailed narrative.

[39] Every buckskin is marked with a symbol sacred to the particular spirit to whom it is offered.

[40] It is one of the cardinal traits of Winnebago ritualistic oratory that everything that the speaker does is to be depreciated and that any honor or consideration shown to him by his guests is to be ascribed more to a feeling of pity in their breasts than to his worth. [537]

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Host's offering to Earthmaker. "Hearken, Father who dwells 796x
above,[26] all things you have created. Yet if we would make an offer- 539x
ing of tobacco you would accept it with thankfulness"[27] (you said). 782 ●
So it has been said. I am about to offer a handful of tobacco and a 776
buckskin for moccasins with it and a white-haired animal[28] to be cooked so that (you may have) a holy feast. These things I turn over to you. If you accept them, the first thing I wish to ask for will be (the honor of) killing (an enemy) outright, of leading warpaths, and of obtaining life honors.[29] That is what we would like to lead (i. e., a war party). That is what I would ask of you. My relatives, as many as are sitting around here, even that many ask the same things of you."

Host's offering to the Thunderbirds. "Those in the west, our grandfather, Thunderbird Chief, you blessed grandfather, and I am now going to offer you a handful of tobacco. With thanks you will accept it (it has been said). Buckskin for moccasins, also, I am sending over to you. A feast made from one whom we regard as one of yourselves, whose body we are like.[30] I am sending along for you. Indeed a sacred feast I am offering you; that I am now sending toward you. As many of our clan members as are here, they (all) desire to make these requests: To kill an enemy outright, to lead a war party, and—O grant it to us!—a life honor. Life, that is what I pray for to you—that we ask of you. Our clan has put itself in a pitiable condition,[31] so that we may live a good life. That we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, you who walk in darkness, you directed your minds toward grandfather, and for that I will pour tobacco for you, now and forever, so that you may bless me. A handful of tobacco, if we pour for you, we know it will make you thankful, and for that reason do I offer you some. A buckskin for moccasins and, together with it, a sacred feast that I am about to send toward you. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that I and all my clansmen who are here ask of you. This request, that one of us lead the war party you

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[26] No Christian influence is to be suspected in this term of address.

[27] According to shamanistic cosmology, Earthmaker first created all the various spirits and bestowed upon each one of them certain powers. When finally he created man he noticed that he had nothing left to give him, so he decided to give him tobacco. This was to remain his exclusive possession, and not even he, Earthmaker, would be able to take it away from him. It was finally agreed that man would offer it to Earthmaker and the other spirits and receive in return therefor specific blessings. [773]

[28] Ritualistic name for deer.

[29] "Killing an enemy outright" means killing him in the midst of his own people and without the assistance of anyone else. It was the highest war honor that a Winnebago could obtain and entitled him to wear an eagle feather in his hair. "Life honors" always refer to war honors. [554]

[30] The whole phrase from "rohjwi'ga" to "rōhi'ra hik'īsiki-ā,'djera," is the ritualistic expression for dog. The dog is referred to as "like one of ourselves" in deference to the fact that one of the clans is called wolf or dog. Thus in offering up the dog they wish to imply that they are offering up themselves.

[31] I. e., a condition which calls for pity.

have predestined for us (we make).[32] Pitiable we are making our- 796ˣ
selves in life, that we may live a good life (by obtaining blessings 534ˣ
from you). That we ask of you."

Host's offering to Disease-giver.—"For you who live in the south, 782●
Disease-giver, my grandfather Djobenāŋgiwi'xga thirsted himself to 776
death [33] and put himself in a pitiable condition. Then you who are in charge of great war powers blessed him. For you control a greater amount of war powers than any other spirit. A great amount of life you also control, for you are said (to possess two sides), one side of your body containing life and the other death. You told grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋxga that you would bless him at noon, in broad daylight,[34] and thus indeed you met him. There you blessed him with war powers; and with whatever you blessed him, that we ask of you now. Whosoever of my clan are present they all pour an offering of tobacco for you and also (give you) soup.[35] The Creator made animals for us, white-haired animals for food, and these we send to you; together with buckskins, that you may have moccasins. We also send toward you a head ornament (of eagle feathers), that also. We offer you tobacco and we ask of you to bestow upon us that with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. Grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga had had war powers and life, it is said; and those we ask of you. And it is said that you told grandfather that whenever you go on your warpath you will not walk upon the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga wherever they breathe.[36]

Host's offering to the Sun.—"You, grandfather Who-bring-day, who come every day, you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war power and life and I am therefore offering you a handful of tobacco. All the (war power) the Creator controls he delegated to you and for all of that which you blessed our grandfather, as many of my clansmen as are present, we are about to pour tobacco to obtain. Tobacco, here it is."

Host then pours tobacco into the fire.

"It is said that you will do what we ask of you. You yourself told that to grandfather, it is said. War powers and life, that we ask of you. Tobacco, food, and feathers, we sacrifice to you and

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[32] A person may be blessed with victory on the warpath directly or he may be entitled to war blessings to which near relatives were destined but which they were deprived of by an early death. The present prayer is directed toward both things, that he may enjoy the "unused" blessings of his relative and that he may not be cut off by an untimely death from the fulfillment of his own.

[33] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[34] To be blessed in the daytime, especially at noon, was considered as particularly holy. Generally a person was blessed at night. [787]

[35] Literally, "hot water."

[36] I. e., when Disease-giver deals out death he will avoid all the descendants of Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga. "Manī'na" is the technical word for warpath. The word for descendants really means "roots."

if you accept them, then we will assuredly wear war honors (some 796x
day). That we may pass through life without any troubles and that 539x
we may live long, we ask of you and offer you tobacco, grandfather." 776

Host's offering to Earth.—"Grandmother, you blessed Djōbenagi- 782
wi'ąxga with whatever the Creator delegated to you. With everything that exists on the earth, for all eternity, did you tell grandfather you would bless him, and this is what we ask of you and for which we will forever offer you tobacco. You will do it, he told us you had said. A handful of tobacco we are about to send toward you, we, as many of our clansmen as are here. Tobacco do you accept from us, grandmother. A handful of tobacco there, upon him who stands in the middle of the lodge,[illegible] do we pour. Give us war powers and life; for these we beseech you. Here it is, the tobacco."

The host then pours some tobacco into the fire.

"Soup, vegetables, together with maple sugar we are about to send you.[illegible] If you accept them, life we will obtain; that we ask of you."

Host's offering to the Moon.—"Grandmother, You-Who-Come-at-Night,[illegible] grandmother, you blessed grandfather Djōbenągįwi'ąxga and now all his descendants, as many as there are, are about to offer you tobacco. Now when we come to a tobacco offering we will certainly offer some to you. And you will be cognizant of it, you assured us yourself, it is said. Whatever you are in control of and with which you blessed our grandfather Djōbenągįwi'ąxga for all eternity, that we are to ask for at all times, they told us you had said and you will assuredly give it to us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"I am using the tobacco as a means of obtaining life for myself and my relatives.[illegible] The Creator gave it to me and I am offering it to you. As many of our clansmen as are here we beg of you war powers; and that if we ever go on a warpath[illegible] there we will obtain the war honors. Soup and the animals the Creator made for me,[illegible] the black-furred one[illegible] we are offering you; soup of bear ribs. A sacred feast we are about to hold for you. A buckskin for moccasins we are about to send out to you. War powers and life we ask of you; that you give us life, so that our days may be happy. Truly, grandmother, did you bless our grandfather Djobenągįwi'ąxga with what-

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[illegible] "He who stands in the middle of the lodge" is the ritualistic name for the fireplace. He is always personified and the tobacco is generally conceived of as being poured upon his head. [354]

[illegible] As the offerings are made to the earth, vegetables and maple sugar are selected.

[illegible] Ritualistic name for the moon. The regular name is "hahe wira" (night sun).

[illegible] The term "[illegible] k'arak," literally meaning "a life beseecher," is used only in rituals and is generally taken to include any offering.

[illegible] "Nągᵋ," is the regular word for warpath. Literally it means simply "road."

[illegible] I. e., what the Creator had placed in his way and permitted him to catch and prepare for this feast. It is in this specific significance that it is meant here.

[illegible] "[illegible]" is both the ritualistic and deferential name for the bear.

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ever powers the Creator put in your control. That with which you blessed grandfather it is said you would give us, too, when in the course of time we would pray to you to bestow them upon us. So it is reported our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga said. A handful of tobacco we place for you in the fire. You would smoke it, it is said that you, yourself, told grandfather. Tobacco, you told him you would always accept, it is said. Here it is, the tobacco." 796x 539x 776 792

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If you smoke the tobacco for us, war powers and happiness in life we will ask of you. Soup, vegetables, rice, and maple sugar we send out to you, and buckskin for moccasins likewise. If you accept these things from us, it will be ours to use, war power and life. That we ask of you, grandmother."

Host's offering to the chief of the Eagles. "Chief of the Eagles, you who walk on light [illegible] up above. You, yourself, said that only you are the greatest one in control of war powers. That you are thus, you said of yourself. Life also you are in charge of. You blessed our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga with whatever powers the Creator put you in control. You blessed grandfather for all eternity,[illegible] and for those powers we are now about to offer you tobacco. It is for that purpose you told grandfather we should have a tobacco pouring. So grandfather told us, it is said. Grandfather also made a sacred bundle [illegible] and to this you also added your power, grandfather said, it is said. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"To you, chief of the Eagles, grandfather, do we pour tobacco. With whatever you blessed grandfather, that we ask of you. All the members of the clan offer you tobacco that you may have knowledge of it (i. e., the tobacco) and bestow upon us who dwell on the earth war powers and life. That is what we ask of you, grandfather."

Host's offering to the Day.—"To the Day [illegible] I pour tobacco, also soup, and a rib of a white-haired animal (i. e., a deer). A sacred meal we are about to offer to you. Grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ąxga you blessed and you also added your thoughts,[illegible] it is said. If you accept tobacco and the feast, war powers and life we assuredly are going to obtain. For that we ask, grandfather."

[illegible] "Hąbumani' ąą," is the ritualistic name for any bird. Although rarely used except in rituals, it is yet generally known among the people, a fact that does not hold for most of the other ritualistic appellations.

[illegible] The set phrase which from now on we will translate by "eternity," is literally "as long as the earth lasts, that long."

[illegible] "Wazųp'i' aį wanąγį'ręγį' teγį" means literally, "He tied up the spirit mind or manifestation," i. e., he made a bundle of the blessings he received from the various spirits. Djōbenagiwi'ąxga is the individual who is supposed to have first received the clan bundle. The word "wanąγį" is a very difficult one to render accurately in English.

[illegible] Although, according to the Winnebago conception, the light of day is associated with the sun, yet the sun is not regarded as causing the light any more than the absence of the sun is thought to be the cause of darkness, but both light (daylight) and darkness are associated with special deities.

[illegible] "Wīwōr'uį" is not to be thought of in an abstract sense but as something quite as tangible as a material object.

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Host's offering to the South Wind.—"South Wind, to the bundle 796x
grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga made you added your power, so 539x
grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga said, it is said. That which the 776
Creator put in charge of you, and with which you blessed grandfather 782
Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga, as long as the earth lasts, we are about to pour
tobacco for, as you yourself told us. The tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"A four-legged animal,[29] a coon, that the Creator made for us, we are going to give you in the form of a soup. If you accept the soup and likewise smoke the tobacco, then the first request (we wish to make) is that it might be our fortune to obtain war powers and travel safely (on the path) of life. This is what we ask."

Host's offering to the North Wind.—"Wind who lives in the north, you said 'I am the equal of (the spirit of the north)':[30] so grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga said, it is said. Tobacco, soup, vegetables, what a tree bears, fruit, as we call it, and maple sugar, that also we send toward you. If you accept them, the request (we make) is for war power and life; that we ask of you. To kill a person outright is an excellent power to have, grandfather Porcupine,[31] you said of yourself. So grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga said, it is said."

Host's offering to the Black Hawk.—"Black Hawk, you also added your powers for grandfather, it is said; and a handful of tobacco I am pouring for you for that reason. Whatever war powers and life the Creator put in your control, that I ask of you. You blessed grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga for as long a period as the world would last, and you said that you would always smoke tobacco, it is said. If you are cognizant of this tobacco, let us obtain life and war power. For these we ask."

Host's offering to the Wōna'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik.[32]—"Grandfather Thunderbird, Wōna'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik, as they call you, you added your power also, it is said. Tobacco we are about to pour for you. Tobacco only (we are giving you), so that we may obtain war powers and life; that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagjwi'ŋxga for all eter-

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[29] A ritualistic manner of speaking of a quadruped, just as it is common in rituals to speak of human beings as "the two-legged-walkers."

[30] I. e., cold does not affect me. The North Wind and the spirit of cardinal point north are of course entirely distinct.

[31] No reason is known why the spirit is here addressed as porcupine.

[32] The "Wōnā'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik" are birds living in the empyrean generally identified with the hawk. Here they seem to be identified with a kind of Thunderbird. Whoever is blessed by them becomes a great warrior. The term really means "a terror-inspiring man," by reason of his great war powers. One of the Winnebago clans has this name. The explanation for the identification of the Wōna'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik with the Thunderbirds is probably the following: The Thunderbird is not regarded as belonging to any particular bird species, but any bird can be either a normal bird or a Thunderbird. When used in this sense, the appellation Thunderbird is generic, and the term used in the text, "Wak'ā'ndja Wōna'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik," is then best translated by "Thunderbird—Wōnā'ɣjire Ūa'ŋkcik." Thunderbird specifically is understood to be in reality not a bird but a being in human shape. Cf. Introduction. The general conception of Thunderbird given here is touched upon also by J. O. Dorsey in his "Siouan Cults."

nity, may we obtain from you. If you accept the tobacco may I 1796x
and my relatives live well by reason thereof; that we ask of you. 539x
That is all." 776

Host's offering to Big Black Hawk.[63]—"You, Big Black Hawk, who 782
are in charge of war powers,[64] blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga with war powers and life, and these we are to ask of you, you told grandfather, and pour tobacco at the same time. As many tobacco offerings as he (grandfather) would have liked to have had and as many (buckskin) offerings as he would have desired, that many there will be for you. If you accept the tobacco and feast and all the offerings, you will assuredly give (us blessings). Thus you told grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. Tobacco, here it is."

He pours tobacco into the fire.

"If we extend toward you a handful of tobacco, you said you would always smoke it. If, at a tobacco offering, you smoked the tobacco, the requests we might make are these—war powers and life. A feast of one whom you look upon in the same way as ourselves (i. e., a dog), one whom I have been treating like a brother, with whom the children have eaten the soup of such a one, we are giving you. An offering of buckskin for moccasins and of one like ourselves (a dog), whose body is well prepared, do they offer you. Food they are offering you, asking in return for life.[65] You are the only one in control of great war powers. The Creator placed you in charge of life; above the Creator created you. With that you blessed grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga for all eternity. We will have a tobacco pouring, that you may give us (these things). If you take cognizance of the feast offerings, the buckskin offerings; if you will take them, then we will obtain the war honors and then we will obtain life. We, as many older people as we are here, beseech you for those powers you added to the spirit bundle of our grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ąxga. We will not have enough food to go around,[66] but if we offer you tobacco, it will not be an offense (thus to act to you) (we have been told)."

This is what they used to say at the tobacco pouring. This it is. (Song.)

THE BUCKSKIN OFFERINGS TO THE SPIRITS

(Host speaks again.) "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. We are endeavoring to prepare footwear for our grandfathers,[67] but we did not really accomplish it. Spirit footwear we tried to make, that is what we were doing, but our work was lacking

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[63] A deity apparently distinct from Black Hawk. He is the one to whom offerings are always made.

[64] Literally "in control of grass bundles."

[65] "Hąp" is the ritualistic name for life. Literally it means "light."

[66] A ritualistic expression of modesty.

[67] I. e., offer buckskins for moccasins to the spirits.

in every respect. However, our grandfathers (the spirits) would not 796x
take offense at the (inadequacy) of our work, it is said. That we 539x
may not be weakened, for that reason it is that we are preparing the 776
moccasins for our grandfathers. Up above we are going to send 782
them."

Offering to the Thunderbird.—"Grandfather Thunderbird, our clan is sending you moccasins. War powers and life are the requests we make in turn."

Offering to Night Spirits.—"You who live in the east, moccasins do we send you, and the request we make, is war power and life. That we ask for."

Offering to Disease-giver.—"Disease-giver, grandfather, moccasins we send you. Grandfather, life you possess on one side of your body, and death you are in control of on the other side of your body, so our grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga told us, it is said. War power and life, that is the request we make."

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, grandfather South Wind, here is the tobacco for our grandfathers. You blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war powers and life and you said yourself that you would bless (his descendants) whenever they offered you a handful of tobacco and you accepted it. Moccasins we are sending you. Food we are about to offer you. Whatever you blessed grandfather with that we ask of you."

Offering to the Sun.—"Grandfather Light-Wanderer, you said that if at any time we poured a handful of tobacco for you and smoked tobacco as an offering (you would give us) that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga whenever we ask for it. So it is said. Moccasins we are sending you. Soup, vegetables, and maple sugar also we are about to send you. Tobacco is what we think of in connection with you. If you take cognizance of it, war honors we will assuredly obtain. Life, that is what we would like to obtain."

Offering to Earthmaker.—"You who are above, our Father, we ask life of you, extending tobacco. You made this for us; you let us have it. Indeed it is you that made it and yet you will take a handful of it that we extend to you and accept it as an offering. That is what you said to us. So grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga said, it is said. You blessed grandfather Djōbenaŋgiwi'ŋxga with war powers and life. Bless us in turn now that we are about to offer you a handful of tobacco. We, as many clansmen as there are here, are about to send to you moccasins so that we may obtain life from you. Tobacco, deerskins as offerings, food of the white-haired animal, of a male animal, we are about to offer you."

Offering to the Moon.—"Grandmother, the Moon, moccasins, soup and tobacco, these we are about to offer you. Our request is for the

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djõbenagjwi'ŋxga. That 796 x
we ask of you." 539 x

Offering to the Morning Star.—"You who are above, Morning Star, 782 ●
our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed 776
grandfather Djõbenagjwi'ŋxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you." [illegible]

Offering to Earth. "Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djõbenagjwi'ŋxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djõbenagjwi'ŋxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

Offering to the Water-spirit.—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[illegible] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

General prayer to the spirits.—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[illegible] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

First filling of the pipe.—After they have sung the first war-bundle 796 x
song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the 539 x
war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you 782
the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight 276
above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke.
Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is [562]
entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again.

Second filling of the pipe.—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

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[illegible] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[illegible] Deferential and ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djexi."

[illegible] I. e., that no inaccuracy nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

war-bundle songs then they fill the pipe and place it in front of the 776x
war bundle, in the path of the Thunderbirds, extending the mouth- 539x
piece in that direction (i. e., the west). Then they would sing some 782
songs and when these were finished, the Thunderbirds would come 276
as feasters to where the pipe lay extended and smoke. That is why they place the pipes there. The Thunderbirds do this (i. e., smoke) as a sign of acceptance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins. So that a Thunderbird might smoke, do the feasters place the pipe there.

Third filling of the pipe.—Then the host asked the others, "In what direction shall I place this pipe?" and one of the feasters said, "Toward the south, place it." Then they sang the songs of the Disease-giver. Then when they were finished they carried around the pipe.

Fourth filling of the pipe.—Then the host fills the pipe again and again asks, "In what direction shall I place the pipe?" (and some one answers), "Place it toward the earth." So he placed it toward the ground. For those under the ground, the Water-spirits, they also place the pipe by standing it on the ground. Then they sing paint songs and when they are finished they pass the pipe around so that all may smoke. When it returns (to the host) it is not filled again but placed empty on the ground.

BASIC RITUAL

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners, who are sitting here, I 776x
send forth my greeting to you. It is good that you have come (in 539x
response to my invitation). It is my purpose to make you tired from sitting, but do not for that reason think any the worse of us. We will make you hungry, hungry to the point of starvation, but (we know) you came for the sake of the spirits (not for our sake). It is good. We are not going to do anything in the correct manner, but our grandfathers who live in the west taught our grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga some songs and these we are going to try and repeat. We will now sing the songs just as they taught it to grandfather. We may perhaps sing only one song. However, if you know only one song and take pains about it, it will suffice (to propitiate the spirits); so grandfather said, it is said. Anyhow, if we try to cry, in our efforts of singing, our grandfathers will take cognizance of it, it is said. That is what we are thinking of when we try to get the spirits' attention by singing. We will do our best to sing the songs, and we will sing four of them; and when we

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For explanation see Introduction.

Ritualistic depreciation.

I. e., if you put yourself into a state of religious fervor, a state that I have generally rendered by the word "pitiable."

The word "hōk'ā'raga" means, literally, "by voice to attract attention." "Hō" is not an instrumental particle but the word for voice, speech.

Literally, "to make one's breath visible in the form of song or speech," a ritualistic circumlocution for song.

Should they ever have a bad illness
they have the means of obtaining life by praying for it,[77] by offering 796x
tobacco and a flute.[78] 539x

"Disease-giver himself made these things holy. Thus they would 782
obtain life, if they had any illness, by offering you reed flutes, food, 776
tobacco, feathers, a white dog, and by making you at the same time an offering of buckskin hides. (Thus Disease-giver spoke to our grandfather when he blessed him:) 'A holy flute I made for you, and I forbade you to blow upon it, yet you did it. Now, hereafter, if you offer me a sufficient number of buckskins, you may blow upon it. A different life from that of others will you lead, if you do that. You will be able to cut off (stop) a bad disease caused by someone else. Nor will this one (who was ill) ever have another disease.'[79]

"Thus Disease-giver spoke. This is what the one who causes disease said. That is how they blessed our grandfather Djõbenągiwi'ųxga. A song I am now about to start. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Disease-giver song.)

Host's fourth speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 796x
I greet you. The last (song) we will now finish. You who are in the 539x
east, Night Spirits, you also added your blessing to the spirit bundle 787
of grandfather Djõbenągiwi'ųxga. So that he might know (he 776
blessed by) the spirits, grandfather Djõbenągiwi'ųxga starved and thirsted himself to death[80] and made himself pitiable. At first, he fasted four nights and the Night Spirits came to him; with mighty sounds they came.[81] There they stood (and said), 'Human, you have thirsted yourself to death and we bless you (for that reason). We who speak are the spirits who are called Night Spirits.' They blessed him with war power and life, they said. Then he looked and (said to himself), 'I wonder whether these really are the Night Spirits that speak.' So he looked at them and they were small birds called *hecë'pge*.[82] They had fooled him. Then once again was his heart sore. 'Well! I will die,' he thought (fasting). So he fasted again and once again he rubbed on (the charcoal). For six nights he continued to fast. And again from the east the Night Spirits came. They came making a great noise and they stood near him (and said), 'Human, we bless you. You have thirsted yourself to death and you have made your heart sore. We felt sad on your account. With

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[77] A rather curious expression used only in elevated language and meaning, literally, "to obtain with the mouth"—i. e., either by speeches, prayers, or singing. The expression would hardly be permitted in ordinary Winnebago. [95]

[78] He does not mean by offering flutes, but by playing on them. Reed flutes are generally contained in the blessings of most spirits, but they seem to be more closely connected with the Disease-giver and the Buffalo. [534]

[79] This, I believe, is the meaning of the last three sentences. They are somewhat obscure, and I do not guarantee the correctness of the rendering.

[80] Ritualistic expression for fasting.

[81] All powerful spirits are supposed to approach with loud noises. This is also characteristic of the Ojibway spirits. [171]

[82] English equivalent unknown.

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in the lodge, that many talked of what was to happen to you. And I, 796x 539x
I am the chief of the Night Spirits. 'This creation-lodge just as you 787
see it (i. e., with all it contains) I give to you.[illegible] You will never be 776
in want of food. You are to offer as many buckskins as you see here and tobacco for all time. Thus it shall be. The "creation-lodge" of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war parties as you wish and obtain as much life. As many tobacco offerings as they (i. e., you and your descendants) continue to give, all the tobacco, food, buckskin offerings, red feathers, as [782] ●
many as there are, they will all come to the "creation-lodge" that you see, and we will accept them.'

"Thus did they speak to grandfather Djōbenągiwi'ųxga. So he 796x
said. We will do this that we may ask (blessings) for our relatives 539x
and sing songs. Even if we do not perform everything in just the manner that the spirits in the east (told) our grandfather Djōbenągiwiųxga, we know that our grandfathers (the spirits) will not be offended. So they say. Even if you know only one song, if you bring yourself to the point of crying in your efforts (it will be all right). Thus we mean to say it. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

THE FEAST

Host's speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. Every spirit that the Creator created he made for us,[illegible] but whatever food he made for us all those things we were to offer up (to the spirits) together with tobacco and the sacred feast. What we are to do, what I can do to make these things known to them, that is what we should think of and talk about. (This is what the Creator said): Let (the host) call upon a warrior, a young man present at the feast. For the one who lives in the west, he should make offerings of tobacco and attempt to be like (the spirits), so that one of our own members should be considered (by the spirits) as the same as themselves.[illegible] A sacred feast and tobacco together with it we are about [782]
to offer to the chief of the Thunderbirds in the west. What can I do that they might have knowledge of these (offerings)? Thus we should be thinking, (the Creator) said. A war-bundle owner who is present we should call upon (to take charge of) a kettle." [illegible]

[illegible] The lodges of the spirits are always called "creation lodges" in reference to the fact that it was by the assembled spirits in these lodges that at the beginning of the world everything was set in order. The principal "creation lodge" was that of Earthmaker, to which the soul of a dead individual wandered after death and from which he was sent to the world again if he chose to take human form once more. [776 775]

[illegible] I. e., that they might give us blessings.

[illegible] I. e., impersonate the spirits. It will be remembered (cf. Introduction) that each guest is supposed to impersonate a spirit.

[illegible] Host's speech ends here. What follows is description.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796x 539x 782 ●

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver. 776

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.[91]

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796x 539x 262

Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.[92]

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their neices, and their aunts,[93] and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554 562] [602]

Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.[94]

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

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[91] In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

[92] The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only warriors are permitted to take part in it. [554

[93] When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a wampum necklace, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister. 262]

[94] This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal [131]

Even if a feaster gets satiated, he must continue to eat until everything is finished. They tell one another that it is not good for any one to fail (and leave any food). Whatever food there is they must finish it all. All that is cooked must they eat. 796x 539x 264

CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

Then the one who was called upon for the first kettle thanked them and said: 796x 539x

Speech of first guest.—"Councilors [illegible] and relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. As many war-bundle owners as are seated here, I greet you all. The councilors of the clans have enjoined upon us earnestly to offer up sincere prayers to all the different spirits who are seated here (in the persons of the guests). It is good that our war-bundle owners offer up prayers in this way. It is for this reason that we are still living. Some of us can not accomplish much in that line and that is why so many of us are gone already (i. e., are dead). This ritual was made for one who is the very greatest of all the spirits, for whom they have offered tobacco and food and offerings of buckskin. Thus they have done. [776 782] Earthmaker, who dwells above, they have asked for war power and life. Indeed, how would it be possible for (the spirits) not to take cognizance and accept (these offerings).[illegible] If we follow the preaching (of our host), life (we will obtain); life we will feel ourselves in connection with through the holy food that they (the host and the members of his band) have offered up. We have (had the honor too) of impersonating the spirits, I and my relatives. The meal likewise was excellent. It is good that they have brought us in connection with so much life and it is to thank them that I am saying this. That one of their ancestors whom they called grandfather (and whose place I am taking) was not one to speak foolishly, it is said, and still his place they thought of for me (unworthy as I am). They have given me (the part) of a councilor of their own clan and (the privilege) of impersonating a spirit. It is good. Earthmaker they have prayed to.

I greet him. To the enjoiner (host) I send my greetings; to all the war-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings.

Then the second one who was called upon for a kettle gets ready to thank them and says:

Speech of second guest.—"Host and relatives, as many as are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. War-bundle owners that

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[illegible] The word means, literally, "enjoiners" and refers to the injunctions and instructions the older people give to the young. [867]

[illegible] I. e., the offerings are so wonderful that the spirits would have to be blind not to see them. This and the following sentences are formulaic compliments always paid to the host by the invited guests.

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are here, I send forth my greetings to you. Those of the various clans 796x (present) have counseled me repeatedly and all the women and 539x children have pleaded in my behalf (with the spirits). What love that was! And what does life consist of but love? The clan councilor is repeating the songs (that were obtained) when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, they would have the tobacco that they have kept all this time (ready). Now, sure enough, the time has arrived and they are sitting prepared to pray to all the various spirits. Long ago when they saw war they cooked the man they were to go after.[illegible] That is why they did it. A good (prosperous) warpath they will surely have. When they are actually in the midst of their warpath and are about to rush for one another (i. e., the Winnebago and his enemy), let him pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war. [782] If you say 'Grandfather, thus we used to offer you,' although you may not know (by any word or direct sign) whether those in control of war have answered you, (you will know it) as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place and, although you go where the bullets and arrows rain hardest, you will pass out of the reach of the bullets and will pass safely out (of all danger). If the people rush for a man to bestow the war honors upon,[illegible] you will be the one. If you give the sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds, who are in control of the greatest war power, (will bless you) for the excellent way in which you have (prayed to them). [782] Whenever the Thunderbirds come they will remember you; and when they come they will even call you by name and say, 'Let us smoke here.'[illegible] When the young begin to grow up, one of the men encourages them. Only a few, however, are like this. It is good. He (the host) has preached and pleaded for as many men as are present. They (the host and his band) have made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west (the Thunderbirds) and pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin have they sent out to them. They have permitted me to impersonate (this spirit) and have thus given life to myself and my unimportant clansmen, who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected (through your actions). With life have we felt ourselves connected by means of that vessel which the Creator gave me as a

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[illegible] Here the literal translation is indecorous. The real meaning is that the spirit of the enemy they are to kill on the warpath is present in the food offered up at this feast. This is a characteristic Winnebago conception. For another example, see a version of the origin myth of the Thunderbird clan bundle, where the hero, by drinking a certain liquid, has not only a vision of the people he is going to kill, but even hears their dying groans.

[illegible] This refers to the custom of running out to greet the returning warriors in order to conduct them into the village and bestow the war honors upon those who have counted coup. [727]

[illegible] I. e., if a person makes it a habit to offer tobacco, the spirits will say, "Let us stop at such and such a man's place as we go along and have a smoke."

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has done so well. The members of the clan have been sincerely 537x
worshiping the spirits. He who made the war-bundle ritual was 796
like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is a good work that they are doing. Sufficient food they are offering to those who are in control of war powers that they might easily be cognizant of it. They have placed plenty of tobacco and different offerings of buckskin within their reach. A pleasing [782] ●
white buckskin they have strung out and offered to you; a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament (have they also offered to you). They have offered these things, so that they might ask for war from those who are in control of war. How, indeed, would it be possible (for the spirits) not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them, then we who are impersonating (the spirits) will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life (intended for the host).

"Long ago our ancestors asked (the spirits) to bless them so that, having been blessed with life, they might live happily. Here we are (sitting around) a fireplace and the life that they (host and his band) have asked for, the spirits not only are extending to them but to every one. In the early times the old men said, 'You are not able to fast and offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons (held) against you.'[118] Thus they spoke to them (the younger people). Just as (the older people would have liked it) so they are doing. I, who do not amount to anything, have nevertheless been permitted to take the place of a spirit to whom food is offered. This they have done for me, (given me the place) of that very spirit who is the very bravest of them all, the one who is in control of the power whereby one can kill (an enemy) outright! One side of his body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer him the food of a white animal, of a male animal (i. e., a dog), a white buckskin, [782]
feathers, and tobacco, all objects that please him very much. To Disease-giver they are about to extend these things, so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is a fear-inspiring spirit that they have been making offerings to. I, who have listened to the spirits (through the host's kindness), surely don't have to say anything in their behalf.[119] They thought of their grandfather when they asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits, his is the name that one can not speak of lightly, it is said. If I greet the name and speak about this spirit whom they have asked me to impersonate, may I not be weakened by uttering (his name). Those who are about to offer food to you, grandfather Disease-giver, send forth their greetings. To the host do I send forth my greetings. To the war-bundle owners who are seated here do I send forth my greetings."

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[118] By denying that they can do it he tries to spur the young people to redoubled efforts. The weapons are the obstacles encountered in life.

[119] I. e., this feast will speak for them, more than any words I can utter.

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says: 539x 796x

Speech of sixth guest. "Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they cut that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'[108] Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,[109] still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'[110] My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'. [562 262]

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life[111] they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star, [782] ●

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[108] In eating the deer head and in the fast eating contest the meat is devoured so fast that the food is literally scattered in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same class as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely. [264]

[109] Literally, "a limb." The four coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to. [826

[110] The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the effrontery to expect them to listen to me. 555]

[111] I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

I send forth my greetings. To the host and all the clansmen sitting 539ˣ
with him, do I send forth my greetings. To those who are imperson- 796ˣ
ating the spirits I also send forth my greetings."

Then the sixth one for whom a kettle has been placed, the last one, speaks.[177]

Speech of seventh guest.—"Host and your relatives who are seated here, I greet you all. I am not able to say anything (i. e., I don't amount to anything), but I can at least thank for the body.[178] It is no harm to do so, we are told.[179] That is what I mean and why I say it. To speak of life is surely no harm, we are told.[180] Thus I thought. If ever I obtained the position of one who impersonated (a spirit) and (partook) of a sacred piece of food, I felt that I would be beside myself with thankfulness and gratitude. Not of war power will such as I be able to speak. In spite of that, they have seen to it that I came in connection with life. They have permitted me to impersonate one of the spirits who is among the greatest in the control of war power. It is good to thank the spirits and at the same time to preach to one another, it is said. To speak to one another of life and of the body(?) certainly there is no harm in it. Thus I thought, and that is why I am saying this. I am very thankful. If I could only say something (that would be of any value) to the spirits I would say it. You, grandfather, who come every day, you who are in control of great war power and life, tobacco, food, an offering of a white buckskin pleasing to the spirits, and a head ornament—that is [782]
about to be sent toward you. I was to be one of those impersonating the spirits at the feast, they told me. I am deeply grateful for the honor, to all those of the various clans that are gathered together here with offerings and who are impersonating the spirits. It is good. Even had I eaten a common piece of meat I would have considered myself well repaid, but I have actually been put in charge of a spirit who controls something. We are thankful. To those to whom we preached (i. e., the Sun) I send forth my greetings. To the host I send forth my greetings. To those who are sitting in the lodge impersonating the spirits I send forth my greetings."

When they are through greeting each other, at the end, the host rises and thanks them, saying:

Terminal speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all. What I long for is exactly what we have been doing. All the members of the various clans have pleaded for us in

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[177] This is a mistake of the informant. It should be the seventh one. He seems, however, not to be counting the person who partakes of food offered to Earthmaker.

[178] I. e., the dog (?).

[179] I. e., there is no harm done if even a worthless person like myself thanks for the food of the dog, even although by doing this he is actually taking part in the feast.

[180] I. e., there is no harm in obtaining life for one another by delivering speeches and offering up prayers to the spirits.

song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I 539x
have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they 796x
have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Introductory remarks.—Then the attendants get ready to put on 539x
the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging 796x
the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares 776
his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following: 782

THE TOBACCO OFFERING

Offering to the Night Spirits.—"To you, grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ųxga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, [276]
holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge."

Offering to Earth.—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ųxga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life."[illegible]

[illegible] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

539X
796X
776
782

Offering to the Moon.—"This we ask, grandmother, of you also. You added your power to (the other blessings) of grandfather Djobenangiwi'xga and you said that as long as the world lasts you would willingly accept the offerings of tobacco that his posterity extended to you. Thus you yourself said, we are told. Here is the tobacco.

"As many of our clansmen as are here living in an abject condition (spiritually), may they all follow in the direct path of war. For that we are now extending to you tobacco, food, and moccasins. And may we in the future travel in the path of war and life."

Offering to the Water.—"You likewise, Chief of the Water, whose body is water, blessed grandfather Djōbenangiwi'xga. Here it is (the tobacco). If we poured tobacco into the fire, you said you would always smoke it, it is said. Food and buckskin for moccasins we are about to extend to you. War powers and life, that we ask from you in return, for you said that you would always accept (our offerings), we are told. When you blessed grandfather Djōbenangiwi'xga you said that we should pour tobacco for you at all times, it is said. Here it is.

"You would recognize the offering of tobacco and the tobacco with the food that we sent forth to you, you said, it is said. We desire war powers and life for our kinsmen."

Offering to North Wind.—"You likewise, Porcupine,[illegible] told grandfather, 'For killing an enemy outright, I am useful, it is said. I am even the equal of the one who blows from the north!' Thus you told grandfather, it is said. When the proper time has arrived we should pour tobacco. Tobacco, here it is.

"Our first request is for war power and life."

Offering to the Pigeon-Hawk.—"Here is tobacco for you, too, Pigeon-Hawk. You blessed grandfather with war and life and it is said you told him that you would always give him what we asked of you."

Offering to Earthmaker.—"For Earthmaker, who is the foremost, you said we should pour tobacco, so for him we (pour) tobacco.[illegible] A handful of tobacco we are about to offer to you (Earthmaker)."

Offering to the Thunderbird.—"To you, also, Thunderbird, I am about to pour tobacco. It will be one of the foremost offerings, you said, it is said. Tobacco we pour to you."

[illegible] Porcupine is also associated with the North Wind in the first division of the ceremony.

[illegible] I. e., we even have the effrontery to offer him tobacco as if people like ourselves could ever obtain a blessing from so great a deity as Earthmaker! The order in which the offerings to the various spirits are made is rather peculiar, for that to Earthmaker should, I believe, come first. I suspect that my informant was probably in error in the arrangement given above, a fact easily explained when it is remembered that he tried to visualize a ceremony he had not given for some time.

[825]

Offering to Big Black Hawk.—"To the Big Black Hawk we also 539x
offer a handful of tobacco." 796x

Offering to Disease-giver.—"To you, grandfather Disease-giver, I 776
also send tobacco." 782

Offering to South Wind.—"To you, also, grandfather South Wind, I send tobacco. You would consider it foremost, you said, it is said."

Offering to the Sun.—"Here I place tobacco for you, too, grandfather Sun. A handful of tobacco here I place here for you."

BASIC RITUAL

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I 539x
greet you. The songs that the Night Spirits placed within the reach 796x
of grandfather Tcīwoit'ę'higa,[180] those he tried to learn. He fasted 787
and thirsted himself to death for the blessings our grandfathers (the 776
Night Spirits) gave him (spread) over the length of the earth. Our grandfather Tcīwoit'ę'higa said that he had come from somewhere in the east and that a Night Spirit chieftainess was his mother and that the son of the chief of the Thunderbirds was his father; that his parents lived beyond the confines of this earth.[181] When he fasted to be blessed by (these spirits) over again,[182] they blessed him. If at any time he should die he would be able to visit the earth again, he said, it is said.[183] The song he was taught, the Night Spirit song, that we will try to sing. Even if you know only one song, you will not bore them (the spirits) with it; for if you bring yourself to the state of weeping in your efforts, it will be (acceptable). If you do not put on any embellishments when you pray (literally, cry) for war and life (it will be acceptable), it is said. Thus we should say it.

"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you." (Night Spirit song.)

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, 539x
I greet you. When we finish (our part of the ceremony), may you 796x
help us by repeating the spirit songs your ancestors gave you to be [424]
handed down (from one generation to another). That we ask of you. Now we will start a dance song and when we are finished singing, our

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[180] Literal translation, "Kills within the lodge."

[181] What Tcīwoit'ę'higa means by saying that these spirits were his parents is that he is a reincarnated [775]
spirit that has chosen to be born of human parents. Such claims were by no means rare even in late Winnebago history and there is, as a matter of fact, a powerful shaman living in Wisconsin now who claims that he is the reincarnated Hare (Wacdjingegá).

[182] Before coming to the earth as a human being, he had of course been told that he would receive certain blessings, but nevertheless he had to fast for them just as a human being does. However, shamans who obtained their powers in this way were always supposed to obtain them more easily than other people. For an illustration of this cf. the account of a shaman's blessing in the "Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian" by myself in Amer. Jour. Folklore, XXVI, 1913.

[183] That is, become reincarnated.

539x
annoyed it. Host, I greet you. You who are impersonating the 796x
spirits, all of you, do I greet."

THE THROWING OUT OF THE BUCKSKINS

Then the attendants give that war-bundle owner who is regarded 539x
as the foremost, as an expert, tobacco, for it is about time now that 796x
the various spirits should accept (the offerings).[143] Therefore they 782●
select a man who is proficient, one who has very likely been blessed [554]
by the Night Spirits and one therefore to whom they are likely to listen, a holy person, a man who has attained war honors. He is likely to be the best one to make the spirits cognizant of the buckskins. So they brought the drum for him to his place, and placed tobacco in his hand. Then he spoke as follows:

Speech of prominent guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. You seated in this lodge who are impersonating the spirits, I greet you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good that the war-bundle owners have done so much for the host. He has brought us the means of blessing and caused us to come into this lodge and has fed us. He has permitted us to offer tobacco. It is good. Not insincerely should we speak on such an occasion, our father told us. If at any time the spirits pay any attention to a human being and permit him to offer them moccasins, rest assured that they will not let a weakling do this. If you are of any importance the spirits will accept the moccasins you have offered them. Indeed, my son, our grandfathers on both ends of the earth will have knowledge of these offerings,[144] they told each other."

For the Night Spirits they sang and alternately they would start up a song for the Thunderbird as they sat there.

After finishing a Night Spirit song, then they would start up one for the Thunderbird, and then they would sing Night Spirit songs and Thunderbird songs together. "If at any time they consider you a man and accept the moccasins you have offered them, use your power. Above all, be careful that you do not say anything in a frivolous manner. The host putting himself in a pitiable condition has with copious dropping of tears besought the spirits for war power. For life he has also besought them and has prayed to them with offerings of tobacco, food, buckskins, and feathers. Putting himself in a
pitiable condition he has hunted for the spirits,[145] weakened himself [785]
through exposure to cold, and caused himself untold sufferings. Oh that I could have done similarly! It is for this (these laudable rea-

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[143] I. e., that the buckskins should be placed where the spirits can get them.
[144] I. e., the Night Spirits living in the east and the Thunderbirds living in the west. [776]
[145] I. e., hunted the deer that are used at the feast both for eating and for the buckskin offerings.

sons) that they (the host and his band) have done this. Do not say 539x
anything frivolously, for the host has offered in your behalf tobacco 796x
and tears. Cry that you may obtain life, even as the host and his 782
people have done. Act thus so that you may be of help to one another even as our ancestors of old were. If people act together they will accomplish their purpose. That is what they did in the beginning and that is why they lived like spirits at that time. They cried and made offerings of tobacco, grandfather said. For the Night Spirits shall you pour tobacco here. I send forth my greetings to you." (Terminal Night Spirit song.)

After they have finished the terminal Night Spirit song then (the host) gets ready to use the dance song, but (first) speaks as follows:

Speech of host.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. The dance song they are about to use and then they will get ready to throw out the offerings of buckskin to the spirits. Now let us put them above. This is what I wished to tell you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

The host and the others now take the buckskins and dance around the lodge four times.

When he (the host) starts the oldest men sing the dance songs. Then the feasters take the buckskin offerings down and all, one by one, dance around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them carrying cedar incense and one follows them carrying the same. After they have made the circuit of the lodge for the third time, just before they begin the fourth circuit, those carrying the buckskin that is to be thrown out for Earthmaker and who march at the head of the procession, let the children, after they have smoked their hands, touch the buckskin. After that all touch it for (they believe) that if they touch this buckskin they will obtain long life thereby.

After they have made the fourth circuit they roll up the buckskins and throw them out through the top of the lodge. They hold tobacco in both hands when they do this and this tobacco they pour into the fire. Then all the feasters, those who had buckskins and the others who were within the lodge, the children, the women, indeed, all the people, rise and standing near their seats dance.
Thus they did. 796x

Before throwing the buckskins through the top of the lodge they 539x
would tell the people not to sleep, for otherwise some of the old [513
Night Spirits who are about at the approach of day might strike them 776]

CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

Speech of eighth guest.[illegible]—"Host and relatives, I send my greetings 539x 796x toward you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. It is good that there are so many war-bundle owners here. It is good that they have given me the opportunity of impersonating the spirits, by placing me in charge of the food that they offer to them. Though I am not related to the host, he has done this for me. That I may grope for war powers, feel myself in connection with life, that is why we do it. It is good. As many of my relatives as are here, they all worked splendidly so that we might be connected with life. He who is the leader of our grandfathers who dwell in the east (the Night Spirits), who is in control of all things, who is in control of war powers, he blessed our grandfather and he caused him to swallow as many people of other tribes as had been preordained for him. Within his stomach our grandfather heard their cries, he said, it is said. Thus thinking of my grandfather they asked me to impersonate the spirits. How could the spirits 539x do anything but accept the offerings of tobacco, food, and buckskin! 796x They have had a very great feast, and surely if the spirits take cogni- 782 zance of it, all those who have been impersonating the spirits will also be permitted to participate (in the blessings) to follow. Our ancestors handed down to us from generation to generation the following: 'When you offer food to the spirits, sit down to your undertaking with the greatest possible attention and care. Try to smoke as much tobacco as possible, for if you smoke much tobacco then all the spirits who are in control of war powers will pay attention to you, it is said. If a man smokes very much tobacco in one night, then he will be able to obtain a war honor, it is said. Try your hardest. Young men, it is easy to obtain war powers, the old men used to say. If the spirits accept the offerings of food and tobacco and buckskins, then afterwards those who have impersonated them will participate in the blessings that follow.'

"We feel that we have been connected with life and war power. It is for that reason that I say these words of thanks. If you give the feast for the war bundle well, if you pour tobacco well, then, if at some time or another you have a chance to kill an enemy outright, the war bundle will strengthen you greatly. No one will be able to [789] kill you.

[illegible] I. e., eighth guest to receive the buckskins, continuing the enumeration from the first division of the ceremony.

"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539x
You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796x
greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

Speech of ninth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the [755] keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs [782] when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignificant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet I knew that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke, boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now [726] I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victorious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good. A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our [782] grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buckskins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank them and said:

Speech of tenth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much. Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it. It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) listened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly. We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast. When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers, given). We feel ourselves connected with life, for surely one of the great spirits will take cognizance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins that we who are impersonating the spirits have offered. Surely they (the spirits) will not care to see (these offerings) lost nor let us cause ourselves to suffer in vain. Thus the Creator said. As counseled ones do, I greet you.[10] Host, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you."

Then the host arose and thanked his guests.

Host's terminal speech.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. It is good. We were living in an abject condition, so you performed this ceremony most carefully for us. All night have you been sitting here. It is good. With the greatest care have you eaten. It is good. That is what those who are in charge of feasts, who are in charge of war powers, counseled us, it is said. I shall now call on a man who can make himself heard by all the spirits who are in control of war power, including those who live above where the Creator lives, to those who live on the earth, and those who live under the earth. I will now sing four songs and when I begin them that will be the end (of the ceremony). Then the man is to give the war whoop four times."

This he said to them. Then the victory whoop was given four times.

TERMINAL ADDRESS TO THE DOG

Then the dog is sent forth as an offering to Disease-giver. There at the place where the last guest has been(?) the host rises and greets all. [782]

Host's speech to Disease-giver.—"War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. In the beginning one of my grandfathers told me that the man in the south is the greatest one in control of war powers. One side controls death and the other life, he said. He blessed our grandfather and his descendants wherever they might be and he said that he would at all times remember them. Whenever we pour tobacco, then those who offer tobacco will not take sick, he said, it is said. That is the reason they pour tobacco, they said. We are extending to you one like ourselves (the dog), and we have told all, that all who wish to pour tobacco may do so. I greet you all."

When the time has come, then all pour tobacco, the men, the women, and the children. Not one was there left of those who had poured tobacco. They had all scattered. [782]

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[10] Apparently the name of the spirit he is impersonating has been omitted here. It is the Water.

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(SECOND VERSION)

x 776 Informant, member of Thunderbird clan:[1] There were originally
614 four warriors. The youngest one was the bravest and the most
773 powerful. He claimed that his father was a Thunderbird and his
[776] mother a Night Spirit. He is the one who made the bundle about which we are going to speak.

x 776
[604]
[574
281]
[886]
x 796
●782
776

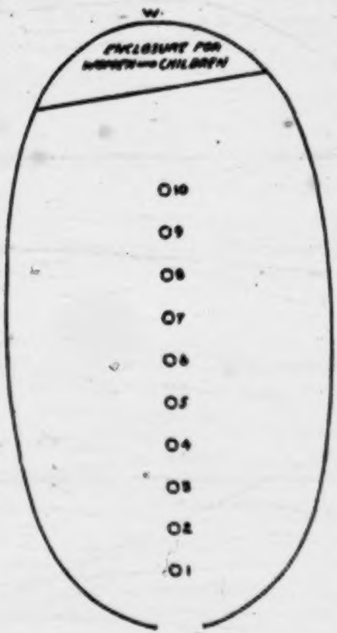

FIG. 38.—Plan of Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast. 1, Buckskin for earthmaker. 2, Buckskin for disease-giver. 3, Buckskin for thunderbirds. 4, Buckskin for night-spirits. 5, Buckskin for morning star. 6, Buckskin for sun. 7, Buckskin for moon. 8, Buckskin for water-spirit. 9, Buckskin for earth. 10, Buckskin for heroka.

The lodge (fig. 38) is prepared by the nephews and the women relatives of the host, generally his nieces and wives. The invited guests arrive toward evening, while the women are still preparing the buckskins. These buckskins are to be made as perfectly white as possible. Only those women who have passed their climacteric are permitted to do this. As soon as the buckskins are prepared the kettles are put on the fire. The buckskins are taken by the host and marked with the specific symbols associated with the different spirits. (For the markings, see pls. 47, 48.) These buckskins are then tied to a stick. That for Earthmaker is attached to the stick with the head pointing upward; that for the Thunderbird has the stick and the head of the buckskin facing the west; that for the Night has the stick and head of the buckskin facing east; that for the Star also faces east, as do all the others
x 796 not mentioned. When the sticks have been prepared and the buck-
782 skins attached to them, the latter are rolled up upon the sticks.
Whosoever of the guests is the oldest feast-giver then arises and
[372 pours tobacco, first for the fire and then for all the other spirits.
When they start the fire for the first time they use the old ceremonial
778] fire sticks. With that the ceremony begins. When the old man is

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[1] This is a generalized account.

through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buck- 796x
skin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins 782
are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earthmaker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins, holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand, while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then, to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened. Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any children present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds, drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The
songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, [573]
six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing
the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in [562]
that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets 796x
of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get 276
as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one. When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is
really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are [782
used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for 262]
the Disease-giver.

ticular kettle assigned to him. Then he pours out tobacco. Now one of the attendants goes around the lodge and scatters small swan [782] feathers in every direction, even putting some near the kettles.

The host then prepares to sing night songs, but before doing so he takes down the buckskin assigned to the Nights, blackens his face with the ember used for marking that buckskin, and puts swan feathers upon his head. It is said that those who during their fasting time visited the land of the Night Spirits saw swan feathers [787 776] scattered all over the land, and that is why they use them now. The host now has the pipe turned toward the east and before singing the night songs tells the origin of these songs. He asks all the other invited guests present to help him with his songs and apologizes for asking so much of them. He now uses two sets of songs. When the dancing songs are sung all the men who so desire may come around the war bundle and dance, and some may even dance near the places where they sit. When he has finished his songs he passes the drum, gourds, flute, and tobacco to the invited guest opposite him. This one now arises, pours out tobacco, and tells the origin of his particular war bundle and sings the night song connected with it for the benefit of the host. He then repeats the same actions that the host has done. The drum, etc., are now passed to the next man, and so on until daylight. Some one especially selected is given the honor of singing those songs that are connected with the taking down of the buckskins, and when this one starts his song all the invited guests in whose honor kettles have been put on the fireplace take down their buckskins and, holding them in their hands, walk around the lodge four times. An attendant precedes them, walking backward and purifying the path. The buckskin with the cross marked on it is generally carried first. The fourth time they make the circuit all those in the lodge first hold their hands over the cedar incense and then touch the buckskin, because Earthmaker is going to [788] use it for moccasins, so that, by touching it, they might become strengthened. After they had made the circuit for the fourth time they rolled up the buckskins and threw them through the openings in [782] the roof of the lodge, so that the spirits for whom they were intended might receive them.

After the buckskins have been thrown out tobacco is poured into the fireplace and all the people take their places and dance. When the drum has made the entire circuit of the lodge—that is, when it has again returned to the host—the latter rises and sings the so-called paint songs. A short time before that a number of kettles had been put on the fireplace for the so-called lower spirits. The host then declares that the feast is ready and that whenever they wish to the guests may begin to eat. The rites of the preceding feast are now repeated. Toward the end of the feast the host takes his bundle, x 796 wraps it up, and hangs it behind him in the lodge, but he keeps the flute unpacked. When all but the last four songs have been finished he calls upon some one who has a rather strong voice to give the war whoop, which he does, at the end of the song. This war whoop is given so that all the spirits might hear it. When he is through all the other guests give war whoops four times, and the feast is over.

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE THUNDERBIRD CLAN

(THIRD VERSION)

Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan: When the feast is ready, the buckskin prepared, and the kettles of meat put on to boil, then the host rises and says as follows:

x 796 x 539 "Warriors and sons of warriors who are present here, I greet you all. You have put aside all the wrongs I have done you and accepted my invitation. I am glad of it. You have filled my lodge. It is good. Our four great ancestral fathers were all warriors. The oldest one was called Whirling-Four, the second one Sitting-Chief, the third one Wabananaaka, and the fourth one Kills-Within-Lodge. When in battle, Kills-Within-Lodge was bullet-proof. He used to wear a belt which when full of shot he would loosen and his blanket-belt would be full of bullets. He is the one that made this bundle. With it one can obtain victory and blessings.

"The blessing we ask of you is war; for ourselves and for all who are present. We have offered kettles to all the spirits and we will also pour tobacco for them. This is why I am speaking to you, warriors, and you taking the place of the spirits. All in this lodge I greet. I greet you all."

He takes tobacco and gives some to each of those who have been especially invited. Then he goes to the fireplace and throws some tobacco into the fire, saying: "Here it is. Here it is. To you who stand in the center of the lodge, to you I offer tobacco. You encouraged us to believe that when we call upon some of your fellow-spirits, it would be only necessary to put tobacco upon your head, and that you would deliver the message.

"This is the first blessing we ask—namely, that our weapons and not those of our enemies be made sharp. And if in a vision we be directed to go on the warpath, may we receive the complete blessing, even though we be in the midst of the battle. Therefore do we lay all these birdskins that are used in war here in the center of our lodge. We pray that if we use one of them we will be able [782] to avoid danger and that we be granted long life. For that reason, grandfather, Fire, do I pour tobacco to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"And thou, grandfather, Earthmaker, I offer tobacco to you. 776x
I offer tobacco to you. It was you who made the tobacco, yet we 539x
were told that even you cannot take it from us unless we offer it 776
to you willingly, because you ordained it thus. I offer tobacco to 782
you, that I may become a warrior and have long life. This I ask of you. A white-furred animal, a deer, with its hide, the buckskin, and its meat as food, do I offer to you together with tobacco. The hide you may use for moccasins. Here it is.

"And you, Big Black Hawk, you who are in charge of war weapons, I offer tobacco to you, that my prowess as a warrior, if I be blessed with any, may be great and audacious. Even if it is only a single enemy (that I encounter), may I be the victor. May we go through battle without injury. A kettle containing half of a deer, with its hide for moccasins, we offer to you. Here it is. Tobacco we offer to you. Here it is.

"You who live in the place of the setting of the sun, Thunder-chief, tobacco I offer to you. When my grandfather made his war bundle you added your power; and whatever knowledge of warcraft you possessed you taught him. For that we now ask you. One of our members[8] whom we feed like a baby, we offer to you together with tobacco. Here it is.

"You who live in the east, who walk in darkness, tobacco we offer to you. When our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, made the spirit bundle you added your war power. We ask that when we take this bundle up we may be able to gain victory without any effort on our part. This we ask of you. As our children become big enough to go on the warpath may you see to it, in your mysterious manner, that we have war. We offer you tobacco and also a kettle containing a female deer with hide for moccasins. These we offer you. Here it is.

"You who live in the south, you who give us sickness, to that part of your body which contains life, we offer tobacco. In the bundle that our grandfather made you added your war power. That power we now ask of you. In the middle of the day you blessed our grandfather. That blessing we ask of you again. One of our members who wears a headdress,[9] do we offer to you, and likewise a deerskin for moccasins. All these together with tobacco we offer you. Here it is.

"To you, grandfather, the Sun, I offer tobacco. You blessed my grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, with your power when he made his war bundle. The blessing that you gave him, that do I ask of you. Let that be your first gift. May we have victory in war: and in the presence of the weapons of our enemies, make us safe. If there be any men (enemies) to whom death has been ordained, may we be

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[8] He is referring to the dogs eaten at this feast.

[9] I. e., a deer.

x796 the ones who will be the victors. It is said of you that even if a
x539 prayer be offered to you in silence, along with the tobacco, you will
776 hear it. Here we offer you tobacco, deer for food, and buckskin
782 for moccasins. This, grandfather, is our prayer and our offering.

● 782 "To you, grandmother, the Moon, do we offer tobacco. We desire to have victory in battle. The blessings you bestowed upon our grandfather, Kills-Within-Lodge, when you blessed him with the powers of a warrior, those give to us now. The blessings that were not fulfilled by him (that is, all those blessings that death prevented him from using) we ask that they may be fulfilled by us. Tobacco and deer for food and buckskin, all these we offer to you. Here it is. Here it is.

"To you, Morning Star, do we offer tobacco. When my grandfather was blessed with your power, while he was making his war bundle, he was to give you tobacco for smoking and food at midnight. That is what we are trying to do, although we are lacking in all the essentials necessary for success. However, we wish to be prepared in times of trouble and that is why we ask, grandfather, that we be blessed with life. A kettle with tobacco, enough buckskin for moccasins, and tobacco we offer to you.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco also. We pray for victory in war and for all the medicines that are necessary to obtain it, so that we may bind ourselves with medicine; that we may use the flowers of the earth for paint—all that is red and all that is blue—this we ask of you. Should there be anything better, we ask that you arrange it so that we obtain it. Tobacco and corn for food do we offer to you, and should you need more tobacco we will send it along. Here it is.

"To you, Eagle Chief, you who blessed our grandfather with power to conquer in war while he was making his bundle of spirit-power, do we offer tobacco. For all that he told us to retain and which he said was powerful in the bundle, I am making this feast. I am
x796 trying to-night to make a feast in honor of the spirits. To you and
x539 to the hawk I offer this kettle."

All the kettles which are to be used at this feast have by this time
782 been put on. The nephews act as attendants and place the kettles
[604] on the fireplaces. Those spirits for whom no kettles are placed on the fire receive tobacco as an offering. After the host has offered tobacco to these latter spirits, he returns to his place and sits down. Then the war-bundle owners to whom tobacco had been given get up in turn and with one hand pour tobacco into the fire and with the other upon the war bundle. The host then rises and speaks as follows:

"Sons of war, and you who stand in the footsteps of the spirits, all you who are in this lodge, I greet you. We are boiling hot water for the spirits. We will try also to use some of the songs that were taught to the owner of the bundle when he was blessed. We will perhaps make you smoke poor tobacco and tire you out by making you sit too long, and we will probably keep you hungry too long, but we know that you have served at these feasts and that this ceremony is good and that you know how to carry it on. It is good that you act thus. They say that if we sit up all night at a feast we will be able to obtain victory in war and long life. For this purpose you have come here and intend to sit with us. We are very glad. We will be at your service and as soon as the attendants have the food ready you shall receive some. To those sitting in the place of the setting of the sun, the Thunderers, we will sing the songs they taught our grandfather. We will attempt to sing them for you. If we can remember them, we will use about four." 716x 539x 782

After he has concluded, the members of his band sing the Thunderbird songs and when they are finished they sing the dancing songs. [533]

When these are over the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We are delivering our speeches as fast as possible. When our grandfather was blessed he fasted, denying himself water. He suffered much. It was then that the spirits had compassion upon him. One of the spirits met him in broad daylight, one day, at noon. He blessed him with victory in war and with the life, or good half, of his body,[4] and with the right to hand on this blessing for generations. As long as the people offer red feathers and tobacco and make feasts in his honor, so long will he not trouble them with disease. He said that these were the things he liked—dog, red feathers, and tobacco. These are the things that we accordingly offer him. We will now use his songs, which are in another language. I suppose we will make a great many mistakes, but it is said that even if a person knows only one song he should try and use it, for through it victory in war and long life can be obtained. With this thought before us we will try. We were also told that we must leave nothing undone.

"Sons of wars, and you who represent the spirits, I greet you." [533]

Now the slow songs are sung, and after they are finished, the dance songs. Then the host rises and speaks again.

"Sons of war, I greet you. After we have used four lots of songs we will have the feast. The attendants will have the food ready about that time. The songs that we will attempt to sing will be Thunderbird songs and the songs of the different spirits that accompany this bundle, the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Earth, the Water, the Daylight, and the Eagle. The songs of all of these spirits we will try to use and sing.

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[4] Evidently it was the Disease-giver who blessed him.

x796 "Sons of war, I greet you."

x539 After these songs are sung the host speaks again.

"Sons of wars, I greet you. We will sing the dancing songs. If anyone cares to dance he may do so. They say that through dancing, also, we may obtain victory in war. Therefore you women may dance and help your brothers. Dancing also is a means of obtaining life. We will now sing about four songs if we can remember them."

When the songs are over the leader says:

"Warriors, I greet you. We will sing another lot of songs and then we will have our feast. This lot of songs was sung by our grandfather, who obtained victory with them, so he added them to his bundle. So we are told. These songs can also be sung by watchmen in the camp, or on the warpath, or before the rush for the enemy, as well as while crossing rivers and in scouting. We will now try to sing them. Warriors all, who are seated here, I greet you."

The host then sings the slow songs and then the dancing songs. Then he continues:

x796 x539 776 782

"Warriors, I greet you. The next four songs we sing will be for all the spirits for whom we have placed these kettles of tobacco and buckskin for moccasins. The first kettle over the first fireplace is a big deer head, which our chief will partake of. This kettle is in honor of Earthmaker. The kettle will be placed for our chief. We know that he has been attentive to the spirits and that he has the right to forbid us to do wrong.

"The next kettle will be put on in honor of the war spirits who live in the place of the setting of the sun. It will be placed before the Thunderbird clan people. It is our desire that the spirits remember us for these our offerings. For that reason we will turn over to them a kettle with tobacco and enough buckskin for moccasins.

"The kettle on the second fireplace we intend to offer to the war spirit, the Big Black Hawk. Together with the kettle, we are offering tobacco and buckskin. It will be placed before Strikes-the-Tree. He understands this affair better than we do. He understands what our intentions toward the spirits are and he can therefore best make them understand us. Another kettle on the same fireplace we intend for the sun. We have already made known our intentions to him by offerings of tobacco and buckskin. That kettle will be placed for our grandfather, who understands and can perform these things better than we can.

"On the third fireplace there is a kettle for our grandmother who comes up after the dark—the Moon. That will be placed before my nephew. He knows how to take care of a war bundle. That we wish should be made known to the moon he will make it known, as he knows how to do it.

"The next kettle is in honor of the Morning Star. We offer 796x
tobacco, buckskin, and food to him. This kettle is to be placed 539x
before my uncle, as he knows how to make offerings to spirits better
than we do. All that we wish is that the spirits should know that 776
we have done this; and he understands how to make this known to 782
the spirits. Warriors, I greet you. The kettles have now all been put on by the attendants and we offer to you all that they can hold. It will be lacking in every way, but, warriors, you understand how to divide it. Knowing this, we know that you will all get some. Whenever you get ready you can start eating. In the meantime we will sing."

After singing four songs those present partake of the feast. When 796x
the feast is over, the guest who received the first kettle rises and 539x
speaks: 782

"Elders and you who are mere participants, who have partaken of our feast, and you warriors, I greet. It is truly good. Who would not say it is good? Relatives, a lesson this has been to me, the fact that I have been invited. It is indeed a real pleasure for me to be here, but I have been accorded an even greater honor in that I have been given a kettle, and especially that it should be just that kettle that we offer to the greatest spirit, Earthmaker. For him have I eaten and for him have I smoked the tobacco that was offered. We will be strengthened by the blessing that it brings us. All our relatives that had anything to do with this offering will be strengthened How can the spirits help recognizing such an offering? It is said that if we wish anything of the spirits and we offer tobacco to them they would accept and recognize it. Surely such an offering as this (in which we have participated) will be received by the spirits, and assuredly they will bless our host with victory, just as he has wished it. I am thankful that I had something to do with it. I consider that my life has been renewed. I therefore greet him, Earthmaker, and I greet the host and the warriors who are representing the spirits. I greet them all."

Then the guest who had received the second kettle rises and speaks:

"Hosts and relatives who are sitting around me, I greet you all. It is good. Who would not say that it is good? I do not intend this as mere imitation of the preceding speaker, but my grandfather taught me to be thankful at all times for such an affair as this. I did not gain honor in war, and (for my presence here) I am consequently all the more thankful. It is good. He has honored me together with the spirits when he offered to them tobacco, buckskin, and food and when he asked them for victory and life. How could such a one go unblessed? Do not the spirits even know our thoughts? I thank all the relatives that have partaken of this spirit food, through which they will be strengthened. Again I say, it is good. In my

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x 796 x 539 thoughts I greet you, feasters. Spirits of war, elders, warriors, I greet you."

782 Then the third speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Warriors within this lodge, I greet you also. It is good. Who would not say it is good? Many times have they done this to us in the past. They understand and know how to make examples for us to follow. They have made offerings of tobacco, of food, and buckskin for moccasins to all the spirits. They have gathered us together and given us places of honor that we may obtain life thereby. They have given us spirit-food to eat in the presence of our relatives. The blessings they receive will also strengthen us in life. With these thoughts we have partaken of the feast. While boiling the water, the attendants have burned their hands, and surely they will for this reason take part in war, with honor. It is good that it is thus. What spirit could overlook such an offering? It must surely be known to them. Again I say it is good. You feasters, host, and warriors, I greet you all."

Then the fourth speaker rises and speaks:

"Elders and relatives, I greet you. Host and feasters, I greet you. It is good, the previous speakers have told me. Most certainly it is good. The chiefs have up to now asked blessings for the Winnebago fireplaces. Our host has also made offerings to all the spirits and asked victory and life for our women and children. I hope we minor [776] ones will also receive blessings. A spirit named Kills-Within-Lodge came upon earth in the flesh and caused this (feast) to be made, and to this day it is so. It is good. With war he was blessed, we all [262] have heard it told. It is good that we have partaken of this food, for we have been told that all meat partaken in feasts strengthens us with spirit blessings. I want to thank all of the relatives and feasters who are here, and for that reason I am speaking. Feasters, I greet you all; I greet you all."

[illegible]n he speaks again:

[776] "[illegible] good, my relatives, that the spirits have been given offerings of food, tobacco to light their pipes, and buckskin to use for moccasins. Now it is the midnight of the spirits, and we have all heard that at this time they turn over in their beds in spirit land, and whoever offers tobacco to them now can be assured that they will smoke it. For this reason the people have added food and moccasins. They will surely bless them with the victory and life for which they have asked. We believe that those who have partaken of the feast will be blessed, for it is said that the spirits even know our thoughts. This is what I think. I am sure I have been strengthened by it. Feasters, I greet you all. You likewise, Grandmother Moon, I greet."

The kettles are now put on again.

Now the host speaks again: 796x

"Warriors, I greet you. It is good that you have told one another 539x my wishes and spoken about the things that are usually discussed 782 at this ceremony. I say again that it is good to hear such words from you. We are making you suffer, but the attendants are putting on the kettles again. I will therefore give all the spirits for whom kettles have been prepared smoking material again. I greet you all."

Then he begins to pour out tobacco for the spirits. As often as he calls upon a spirit so often does he pour tobacco into the fire, saying as follows in each case:

"Here it is, the tobacco, grandfather, who are in the middle of the lodge. We have been told that you said you were the mediator between (the spirits and human beings). It is said that if we place on your head tobacco for the spirits you would see to it that our offering had not been made in vain. So I pour tobacco for you. Here it is.

"To you, in the South, the Disease-giver, grandfather, I offer 796x tobacco. A four-legged animal,[8] one of our own members, we have 539x put in the kettle for you. Tobacco, food, feathers, and buckskin we 782 offer you. You blessed our grandfather and met him in the middle 776 of the day. With the blessing with which you blessed him do you now bless us. This we ask of you—that fever (disease) may not come upon us, and that we may have victory and life. This we ask of you because you claim that you are in charge of these things. Grandfather, in return for all the things that we ask you, we offer tobacco for your pipe. The same we offer to your grandfathers, those under the light, those who walk in darkness.[9] My grandfather you blessed. The things that you taught him we ask for. Our offerings are poorly given, and not of the best kind, but it is said that your feelings can not be hurt since you permitted our grandfather to enter your spirit-home. We pour tobacco for you, Nights, that victory may come our way, and that you might walk faster so that day may come to us sooner. Men's tobacco, food, and buckskin we offer you. Here it is.

"Morning Star, tobacco we offer you, with buckskin and food. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-powers, you added your blessing of warrior prowess. That is what I ask of you—that we may have victory whenever we meet the enemy. It is said that if we wait till then we might not receive your blessing. That is why we ask it now. We pour tobacco for you.

"To you, the chief of the Eagles, I offer tobacco. In our grandfather's fasting you blessed him with victory in war. That which he

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[8] Cf. note 8.

[9] I. e., the Night Spirits.

x796 would have used were he alive do I ask of you. And if we take the
x539 feathers that are in this war bundle on the warpath, may it so happen
●782 that even if we see only one enemy we may be the ones to have the
776 war honor. This is what we ask of you and for this we offer tobacco
to you.

"To you, Hare, do we offer tobacco. Here it is. The blessing you bestowed on our grandfather, that we ask of you, the so-called nephew. Victory in war and life we ask, should we ever go on the warpath; that we may conquer without effort and that we may be safe in the midst of the weapons of our enemies.

"To you, the Turtle, we offer tobacco. Here it is. Men's tobacco we offer you that you may fill your pipe. Our offerings are lacking in every respect, for we have no kettle for you. But we can not offend you, it is said. You have, in truth, power in war and that is why we ask you for victory in war. Grandfather, we offer you tobacco.

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, do we offer tobacco. We offer you men's tobacco. We ask victory in war from you. When our grandfather made a bundle of spirit-power, you added your power. For that reason we have been keeping tobacco for you. Here it is. Grandmother, we offer tobacco to you.

"To all those who have blessed our grandfather with spirit-power—for we do not know you all—we offer tobacco to those on earth and to those above. It is our desire that you bless us with the blessings you conferred upon our grandfather. Grandfathers, warriors, I greet you all. I am sorry that I have been boring you with my talk, and that I have perhaps made you smoke too much. But we wish to obtain victory and life, and it is said that patience gains both of these. Knowing this, you have faithfully sat through this whole ceremony. I thank you, and yet I must ask more of you. I must ask that the drum and songs be sent around the lodge as soon as I get through singing. As the Nights go around the earth at night so will the drum go around this lodge. I will now use the songs of the Nights, that is what I mean. Warriors, I greet you."

[533] After singing slow songs he sings dancing songs, and then he speaks again:

"Warriors, I greet you. As I said before, you may sing the songs of the Nights. Your songs are certainly more spirit-like, and they have the power of obtaining life. I now send the drum to you."

Then the attendants take the drum, together with some tobacco, and carry it across the lodge, to a place opposite the host, and place it in front of one of the guests belonging to another clan. He also puts some tobacco in the hands of this person. Then the one about to sing rises and speaks as follows:

"Feast-givers and relatives, as well as you guests who are present, 776x I greet you all. It is good that I have been honored by being placed 539X in the path of the drum. It is said that so great is the sacredness 782 attached to this affair that one must not refuse to accept the drum as it passes around the lodge. I also feel honored at the offering of tobacco. Indeed I feel saved, and I pray that whosoever comes in contact with these things may be strengthened thereby. As soon as I have offered the tobacco I will use the songs of our fathers. We do not know them as well as we ought to, but we will try nevertheless. It is said that if you only know one song, you must try to use it even to the point of tears; just as it is said, that if you cry after a victory you must put aside all sense of shame. Thinking of these things I will now try to sing. Tobacco I offer you."

He throws it into the fire, saying at the same time, "Grandfathers, Night Spirits, I offer you tobacco. I know that we will spoil your songs, but it is said that you are merciful and that you will sing them again to yourselves correctly. If we make any mistakes have pity on us, grandfathers, and we ask you to walk faster so that daylight may come soon. Here is the tobacco. We offer it to you."

Then he sings slow songs, and then dancing songs. One of the [533] attendants now comes forward with tobacco in his hand, and takes the drum and moves it to another of the invited guests. He also gives this person some tobacco. This one then rises and thanks all the other people in general and says approximately the same as the man before him, praising them for all the things he could think of, accepting the tobacco, and then offering it to the spirits and to the fire. He particularly asks the Nights to walk faster so that morning might come to them sooner. After he sings his songs, which like the others are Night songs, the drum is taken and moved to another of the invited guests. Thus it passes from one to another until it has made the entire circuit of the lodge. Generally at about dawn it reaches the place of the host, from where it had started on the previous day. He sings certain songs which are called the old [533] night songs, because the old nights are not supposed to come until approaching daylight and because their hair is white from age. When they come they bring light. All those who may perhaps have fallen asleep at this time either wake up or are awakened, for the Nights who now come are old and carry canes which, when directed toward a sleeping person, causes him to die. After the host has finished the old night songs he sings the dancing songs.

The buckskins are then taken down and carried around the lodge. All those present now arise and dance in their special places, as the buckskin passes them. The host and his invited guests now take their buckskins in one hand, holding tobacco at the same time, and pass around the lodge in single file. Thus they go around the lodge

x796
x539
●782

four times. The fourth time they make the circuit they stop at the first fireplace and throw the buckskins through the holes of the lodge. It is supposed that the old Night Spirits seize them at this moment and carry them up to the sky with them. The singing now ceases, and all the people take their seats again. The drum is now taken and placed in front of the host's place. He thereupon rises and speaks as follows:

"Ye warriors, as many as you are who are sitting here, I greet. It is good that you have complied with my wishes and that the spirits have already taken their buckskins and their food, and that they have left our presence. But nevertheless we will sing our last song, even if it appears that they are being sung into empty space. I know that you have already had compassion upon me, even although I am making you suffer with hunger, but let us, nevertheless, sing one more song, and then we can rest. My grandfather used these songs in time of war, and never did he miss a war honor when using them. These we will now use. You, warriors, and those of you who possess holy paints, it must seem shameful to you for me to speak this way. For we have no holy paint. However, we will not sing them with the intention of making people believe that we have holy paints, but simply because we have used them in war and found them good. That is why I am about to use them now, and that is why they belong to this bundle. Warriors, you may hear. Know you that I will use these songs in seeking victory and life. Nor will the dancing be limited merely to those who possess paint, but to anyone of the warriors here present. This will be the last dancing song. I greet you all."

[538]

Then he sings some songs, both the slow and the dancing songs. After that he rises and says the following:

"Warriors who are seated here, I greet you. I suppose it is enough that I have made you suffer with hunger all night. As soon as the attendants can get around to it the food will be placed before you again. I know that it will be lacking in every respect, but let me appeal to your good natures. On this first fireplace there is going to be a kettle for the Disease-giver. A four-legged animal, one of his own members, we will offer to him, together with tobacco and deerskins. We are also going to send to him a little four-legged animal, one with whom our children have been fond of playing. He is now in front of us. Whoever wishes to offer tobacco to the Disease-giver can do so now, and as soon as the feast is over and the bones are gathered, we will take them and, strewing tobacco upon them, place them outside. Let me tell you again that anyone who wishes may offer tobacco and ask of the Disease-giver that he keep illness away from him. Women are not permitted to partake of this kettle, so see to it that only men eat of it. As I said before,

O warriors, the food will be lacking in every respect, but try, never- 796x
theless, to have it pass around.

"We also have a kettle on the fireplace for the Nights, which the 539x
attendants will put on in honor of the father of my wife and my own 782
father. We offer, likewise, tobacco and deerskin along with this kettle, to the Night Spirits, so that we may obtain victory and life. That is what we wish. As I said before, I will not have any too much food for you. But they say the spirits are merciful.

"To the Morning Star we will also offer a kettle. We will have it put on for Ku'nu, as he understands these affairs better than we do and knows better than we how to ask the spirits for blessings. We offer, in addition to the kettle, tobacco and buckskin, asking victory and life from the spirits in return. As I said before, warriors, our grandfather never failed when he had this bundle. That is why we have kettles put on the fire in honor of it.

"To our fourth brother we will offer another kettle, in honor of the chief of the Eagles, praying for life and victory. Warriors who are seated here, I greet you all. Whenever you get ready to eat you may do so, and we will, during that time, sing some of our songs."

Then they sing Earthmaker songs. These songs were songs that [787]
a certain person called Wegi'ceka obtained in his blessings from all
the spirits, but they were taught to him by Earthmaker.

After Wegi'ceka had been blessed by all the spirits there was just 796x
one lacking, and that was Earthmaker. So he fasted more and 539x
more, almost to the point of death, crying and longing for a blessing 787
from Earthmaker. Finally he was told that he was to be blessed 776
by him. At the appointed place and time a being wearing dark clothes and carrying a cane that looked fear-inspiring stood before him, like the blue of the sky. "Wegi'ceka," he said, "I bless you. You have inflicted suffering upon yourself and have hungered and thirsted on my account. With everything that I possess do I bless you; with victory and with the power to heal the sick, with riches and with good fortune as a hunter, and even with the power of having women become enamored of you—with all these things I bless you." Then he turned and walked away and Wegi'ceka saw that it was a bluejay. He felt very much humbled and so he fasted again. Four times was he treated thus. Finally he even sacrificed one of his own children, and then he was told that at a certain time and place, about the hour of noon, he would meet Earthmaker. When he came there some one said, "Wegi'ceka, I bless you. You have humbled yourself and cried unto me. I bless you. *Heretofore* I have blessed nobody. You are the first one." Thus he spoke, and he gave him the cane and four songs. These are the songs which we use at the end of our feast.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

x796 x539 After these songs are finished and the invited guests and the others present have finished eating, the feast is practically over, with the exception of a few remarks. The host rises and speaks as follows:

"Warriors and guests, I greet you all. It is good that we have this life-power to use in our travels through life. The spirits caused us to make offering and have also given us a chance to sing the songs [782] of our forefathers. This they made us do. It is good. Our guests have shown us a great example in that they have offered enough buckskin for all the spirits and enough food and tobacco. What spirit could let such an offering pass unnoticed, without bestowing a blessing? It is said that even if you wish something and do not express it in words, still if you pour tobacco into the fire you will obtain what you wish. If that is the case, how much greater must the efficacy of the offerings be that were made here! You Feast-givers and relatives, I consider it a blessing that I was permitted to be present here. But that blessing was even increased when I was called upon to partake from a kettle offered to one of the greatest spirits. I feel that now I will surely be able to live. They say that the one called Disease-giver has victory and life in one half of his body. Therefore I greet the Disease-giver. Feast-givers, warriors, all you who are present, I greet you."

The second singer now speaks.

"Elders and ye other guests who are present, I greet you all. It is good. It is good. Who could say otherwise? Relatives, a great example has been set us. We have seen buckskins for moccasins, tobacco, and food offered to the spirits, and we ourselves have been permitted to represent these spirits by proxy, that we also might live and be strengthened; that if we should ever chance upon the enemy we might remain safe and unharmed. Such, in substance, [782] were the tearful prayers of our leaders to-night. They prayed for victory and life, and made their offerings to the Nights, of deerskin, tobacco, and food. Most assuredly have the Nights accepted these offerings, for they have walked fast as we asked, and the night has been very short. They certainly have answered our prayers. It is good. We likewise feel that the fact that we have been here with our relatives and partaken of everything will strengthen us in life. Feast-givers and guests, I greet you all. Warriors and singers, I greet you."

Then the third one rises and speaks. He says about the same thing as the former. The fourth one does the same. When they are finished, the host rises and thanks them because they have said and done the things that he had most at heart. He speaks as follows:

"Warriors, as it is the custom, so we will now sing four more dancing songs and then we will call upon someone to make his [782] voice known to the war-spirits. If any of you wish to offer tobacco, 796x 539x

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 782 ●
rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has [562] finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231] tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him.

Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest [554] man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778 buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726 blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224] in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [825] animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection [534] with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE BEAR CLAN

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262] will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

x796
x539 skins ready. Then they told them to make some invitation sticks. Only four invitation sticks were to be made, and they were to tie tobacco to each of them. The lodge was now ready (fig. 30). They had fixed the vertical poles and had tied them with prickly cedar sinews. The vertical poles they painted blue.

[202] Then he who was to be the host told the attendants to take the invitation sticks to certain people. "Bring the first one to my friend, Mąnuba'ga. See that you give it to him. I am sure that he will be here soon after. The second stick you may give to Ką-o'saga. The third one you may give to Mazihimain'iga. Be sure that you bring them to all those who possess war bundles."

The attendant did as he was told and returned and told the host that it was done. "I have seen all of them and told them to make ready. They will soon come and sit down."

All were now in the lodge and were seated. The old man, Kąri'ga, was the host. All his posterity were there. He had placed meat in the kettles over the fireplaces. The first kettle was for Earthmaker and the second for Turtle. "Put them on," he said to the attendants. "Put the third one on for the Thunderbird, and the fourth one for the Fire, the fifth one for the Earth, the sixth one for the Morning Star, the seventh one for Without Horn, and the eighth one for the Nights. Then put on a small kettle for Disease-giver and a full kettle for the Ruce'we.

"*Hao*, we will pour tobacco for them my friend, Mąnuba'ga. Whenever we can obtain a 'counciling' we always do this, for in that way we help one another. You who are sitting here for me, bundle owners, as many of you as there are within this lodge who are taking the place of the spirits, all of you I greet. War-bundle owners, all of us are thus. When you obtain a council feast for yourselves, then you will help one another. We are putting ourselves in a very pitiable condition, so you must have thought of us, and that is why you came at our bidding. It is good. And we are going to make you fearfully tired. But I beg of you, nevertheless, to continue until the end. We are now going to sing."

They get up and the guests hold tobacco in their hands. Then they sing and weep. The one who was fasting at that time stood at the war bundle crying. Then they sang the following songs:

[533]

Human, four chunks of meat I give you.
Human, four chunks of meat you will eat.
I made it for you, for you who carry the war bundle.

[782] Thus they spoke standing and weeping, pouring tobacco upon the war bundle. This they did. Then Turtle songs were used. That is what they call them. After that they used Thunderbird songs, and
[533] then what are called friends' songs. Finally they used the songs they obtained when Disease-giver blessed them. Four songs they

x796 After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and
539 thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then
● [782] night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched
around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of
dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the
lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night
[533] songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over.
The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the
spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhį'tcoga gave the
war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

x796 *Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.*—Informant,
805 member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called
[776] deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and
they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because
[774] they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about
and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it
doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this
spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

202 The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war
554] bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the
Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

778 The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow
means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings
which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially
to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor
to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual
how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the
789 voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes
him and he can not run.

yond the need of further nursing. Standing alone above this altar, Big 796
Wave then offered, in his native tongue, a prayer to be carried upward [372
by the fire to Creator. In a low voice he thanked Creator who taught 778]
the use of fire to the Indians, that it might live with them forever and 796
watch over them. He expressed satisfaction that new fire had been
started on this occasion, so that all present might enjoy the benefits of 782
life. He described the fire as an interpreter, conveying to the spirit world the prayers of men. He then sprinkled tobacco upon the fire, saying: "This tobacco I offer you (the spirits) that you may do that which I ask of you, that you may grant to all here, our wives and children, and all our relatives, good fortune and all the benefits of life. This prayer is for others who will also give tobacco."

Later, when the meeting was convened and the guests filed into the ceremonial lodge, many silently sprinkled tobacco on the fire, thereby sharing the benefit of this prayer. This tobacco sacrifice is called, filling the spirits' pipe.

As soon as the new fire was burning well, coals were removed therefrom 796
with which to start the cooking fires outside the lodge, for the
feast must be cooked over sacred fire. Two short poles were placed on 252
either side of the fire, topped by a crosspiece from which the pots were [354]
suspended on chains. Water was boiled, with which all the pots were
thoroughly washed. Then the meat (fowl, beef and pork) was prepared
for cooking. The fowls had to be singed over the sacred fire. A [574]
definite number of equal portions were placed in each pot, since each participating family was to share the contents of a single pot which, therefore, must contain a portion for every member of the invited group.

While the war-bundle owner's helpers, the waiters, selected from his 796
paternal nephews when possible, were preparing the feast, he himself 778
entered the lodge, took down the war-bundle from where it hung on the north wall opposite the fire and spread it out on the ground immediately west of the fire. Although much of the contents of the bundle appeared to be very old, the cover-piece was of cloth. The bundle was unrolled and spread out upon this rectangular piece of goods. The inner wrapper was of matting. Upon this a variety of fetishes and elements of ceremonial equipment was displayed. These included various bird skins, reed whistles and an old fire drill set which had long been out of use due to the fact that the base piece was entirely covered with holes, without interval, and as deep as the thickness of the piece would permit.

Two beaded snake-skin fetishes were suspended from the top of a
peeled stake set up between the bundle and the fire. Adjoining this a [412]
sharpened stick, later to be used as a meat fork in distributing the meat, was placed, the handle thrust into the ground. Two fine old war clubs from the bundle were also placed between fire and bundle, their handles thrust into the ground. Two bowls, one containing tobacco and the

announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the 796
spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all 537
those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In
this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness,
and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating.
He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication
of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians
of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in
the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians [201]
of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one 796
of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped
with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it [534]
actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were
produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started
a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious [533]
devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and
rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the
start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of
this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied
by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied [782 ●
by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle.
276]

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men 796
who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed 533
whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being
not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held 535
reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women
at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight
pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each
song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone
present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old
man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without [887]
assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place
by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of
each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes 796
were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then
the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, [537]
practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered
with, "O! O!". [201]

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war
bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south [276]
side. While this old man puffed, the waiter lit the contents of the bowl
with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

574
I permit him to forget his bargain when the squash was served later in 114
the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke cere- 796
moniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast
he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, 574
obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed
in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken
out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could [782]
molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced 796
that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances
were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of
tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the [574]
waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help.
So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded [201]
with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was
now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by [261]
the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits
to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed
in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as [825]
speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where [726]
the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike de-
cisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered [535]
an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to 159* where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, 775 face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the [776] spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had 159* joined the Medicine Dance[*] and adhered strictly to its 577 precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving [782] ● feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before 756 he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate 775 once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all [776] those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

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[*] The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary [575] ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore [789] one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 755 ● [782] Once when I was sick he[1.] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat[7] become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

782 756 [776] At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

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[195] [7] Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.

[1] [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits 159*
made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one 755
upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show 787
my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it 756
was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him."

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [782] ●

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. [776] Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*
After recounting his fasting experience Thunder 755
Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is 782
a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I

*159 am on earth to accept it; to try and cure him." He
755 then turned to me and said, "You will live, so help
782 yourself as much as you can. Try to make yourself strong. Now as I offer this tobacco to the spirits you must listen and if you know that I am telling the truth, you will be strengthened thereby."

Then he prayed to the spirits:

The Prayers to the Spirits

*159 Here, O Fire, is the tobacco for you. You promised that
755 if I offered you some, you would grant me whatever re-
782 quest I made. Now I am placing tobacco on your head as
776 you told me to do when I fasted for four days and you
539 blessed me. I am sending you the plea of a human being who is ill. He wishes to live. This tobacco is for you and I pray that the one who is ill be restored to health within four days.

To you too, O Buffalo, I offer tobacco. A person is ill and is offering tobacco to you and asking you to restore him to health. So add that power which I obtained from you at the time I fasted for six days and you sent your spirits after me. They took me to your lodge which lies in the center of the earth and which is absolutely white. There you blessed me, you Buffaloes of four different colors. Those blessings that you bestowed upon me then, I am now in need of. The power of breathing with which you blessed me, I am now in need of. Add your power to mine as you promised.

To you, Grizzly Bear, I also offer tobacco. At a place called Pointed Hill there lives a spirit who is in charge of a ceremonial lodge, and to this all the other grizzly bears

belong. You all blessed me and you said that I would 159 *
be able to kill whomsoever I wished and that I would be 755
able to restore any person to life. Now I have a chance 782 ●
to enable a person to live and I wish to aid him. So here 776
is some tobacco for you. You took my spirit to your home 539
after I had fasted for ten days and you blessed me there. The power with which you blessed me there I ask of you now. Here is some tobacco that the people are offering you, grandfathers.

To you, O Chief of the Eels, you who live in the center of the ocean, I offer tobacco. You blessed me after I had fasted for eight days. With your power of breathing and with your inexhaustible supply of water, you blessed me. You told me that I could use my blessing whenever I tried to cure a patient; you told me that I could use the water of the ocean and you blessed me with all the things that are in the water. A person has come to me and asked me for life. As I wish him to live I am addressing you. When I spit upon the patient may the power of my saliva be the same as yours. Therefore do I offer you tobacco. Here it is.

To you, O Turtle, you who are in charge of a shaman's lodge, you who blessed me after I had fasted for seven days, you who carried my spirit to your home, to the home of birds of prey, to you I offer tobacco. You blessed me and you told me that should, at any time, human beings suffer from pain I would be able to drive it out of them. You gave me the name of *He-who-drives-out-pain*. Now I have before me a patient with a bad pain and I wish to drive it out of him. This the spirit told me I would have the power to do, when they blessed me before I was reborn. Here is tobacco.

To you, O Rattlesnake, you who are perfectly white,

*159 you who are in charge of the snake lodge, to you I pray.
755 You blessed me with rattles to wrap around my gourd;
●782 you told me after I had fasted for four days that you
776 would help me. You said that I would never fail in anything I attempted. So now when I offer you tobacco and
539 shake my gourd, may my patient live and may life be
opened out before him. That is what you promised to
me, grandfather.

O Night Spirits, you also, I greet. You blessed me after I had fasted for nine days. You took my spirit to your village lying in the east, and there you gave me your flutes. You told me they were holy. My flute likewise you made holy. For your flutes I now ask you, since you know that I am speaking the truth. A sick person has come to me and has asked me to cure him. I want him to live and so I am speaking to you. You promised to accept my tobacco at all times. Here it is.

To you, too, O Disease-Giver, I offer tobacco. After I had fasted for two days you informed me that you were the one who gave disease; that if I desired to heal any one it would be easy to do so if I were blessed by you. So, Disease-Giver, I am offering tobacco to you and I ask that this sick person who has come to me, be restored to health again.

To you, O Sun, I offer tobacco. Here it is. You blessed me after I had fasted for five days and you told me you would come to my aid whenever I had something difficult to do. Now, some one is here who has pleaded for life. He has brought good offerings of tobacco to me, because he knows that you have blessed me.

To you, grandmother Earth, I also offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed
000 you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

You said that I could use all the best herbs that 159 *
grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect 755
cures with them I beseech you for those herbs now and [782] ●
I ask you to help me to cure this sick man. [776]

[278]
[539]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. 159*
He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One 754
night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

He had been married to my eldest sister and after 159*
her death wished to marry the second sister. Where 756
he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earthmaker,* my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

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* Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

*159 787 I was also told that it would be a very difficult thing to obtain this particular blessing.

So there I fasted at the black-hawk's nest, where a lodge had been built for me. The first night I stayed there I wondered when something would happen. But nothing took place. The second night, rather late in the night, my father came and opened the war-bundle and then taking out a gourd, began to sing. I stood beside him without any clothing except my breech-clout and, holding tobacco in each hand, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

●[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

My father sang war-bundle songs and wept as he sang. I also wept as I uttered my cry to the spirits. When he was finished he told me some sacred stories; [551] he told me about my ancestor Weshgishega:

The Story of My Ancestor Weshgishega

*159 787 539 776 When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast. He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something. The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some; to others, the gift of hunting-powers. Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits. These blessings Weshgishega's father told Weshgishega to attempt to obtain from the spirits.

Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*726

159 After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy.
787 He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they
539 ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice
[782] their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it.[11] Then both of them wept bitterly. In the nighttime when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, "This, most certainly, is Earthmaker." He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker; it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. "Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker." When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, "Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suf-

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[769]
[614] [11] That is, they killed the child and then placed his body upon a platform, this being the customary mode of burial of the clan to which Weshgishega belonged.

* 159 539 787 776 happen to you. I, myself, am the chief of the Night Spirits. This creation lodge, just as you see it, with all that it contains, I give to you. Never shall you be in want of food. Offer up to us as many buckskins as you see here in the lodge. Thus it shall be. The creation lodge of the village of the Night Spirits I give to you. You can go on as many war-parties as you wish and you will obtain everything that you demand of life. All the offerings of tobacco, of food, ● [782] of buckskins, and of red feathers, that you and your descendants offer to us, they all will come here to our creation lodge and we will accept them."

Now thus did the Night Spirits speak to grandfather Jobenangiwinxga.

* 159 787 In the morning, just before sunrise, I uttered my cry to the spirits:

[782] "O spirits, here humble in heart I stand beseeching you."

The fourth night found me still there. Again my father came and we did the same thing, but in spite of it all I experienced nothing unusual. Soon another day dawned upon us. [577] That morning I told my elder brother that I had been blessed by the spirits and that I was going home to eat. I was not speaking the truth. I was hungry and I also knew that on the following night we were going to have a feast, and that we would have to utter our cry to the spirits again. I dreaded that. So I went home. When I got there I told my people the story I had told my brother; that I had been blessed and that the spirits had told me to eat. I was not speaking the truth, yet I was given the food that is carefully prepared for those who have been blessed.

My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill).
There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at
about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number
of different animals. My father possessed only one
arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing
around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he
finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he
walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
[789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which
fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of
times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[796] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and
●[782] offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and
my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with
all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[795] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able
to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed
that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him
but that they were unable to overtake him and were
compelled to return back when my brother reached the
earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I 539
will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four 614
more like himself. Just like the others he made them. 776
They were brothers--*Kunuga, Henuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*.
He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the
earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where
they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out
before them. He told them that they were to go down
there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he
added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the
power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to
you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you
make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to [782] ●
accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This
shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given [296]
them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said,
"All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take
this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by
calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits
get some. And another thing I send with you that you may
use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever
you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care [372]
of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings,
and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

they will kill you!" "I shall try," said the woman. Then 539
the man returned to his followers and told them that everything was well and cautioned them about the woman, telling the brothers also to see that she was not killed.

When day dawned they fell upon the village and surprised it. They fought nearly half a day and killed practically every one except the head chiefs and their sons, [727]
whom they took prisoners. They then returned home. When they reached the village they took both the prisoners and the captured scalps to their war lodge where they were guarded. The next morning they tied the prisoners to posts, danced around them and tortured them till they died.

Now such is the story of a man who was faithful to the spirit from whom he had received war blessings. He gave [782]
feasts and he made offerings in their honor. He fasted and his prayers were answered.

The Story of the Man Who Rescued His Wife from Spirit-land

In a certain village there once lived two young married 539
people. The woman was very beautiful and her husband 775
loved her very much. Always he was thinking of something that he could do for her.

One day the young woman got ill. They called for a shaman but he could do nothing for her. Many were the holy men the young husband called, but it was all of no avail and the young woman died. They buried her. On the evening of the funeral many friends came to the grave to place lights there, so that the soul of the departed might find its way through spirit land. The young man was very good and every one liked him. They all came to the Four

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a 159*
bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home 867
will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing [888]
evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, dis- [778]
ease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you
do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus [754]
by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen. [785]

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those
that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those 159*
who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all 773
these he created and placed in control of powers. Even 776
the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything.
Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he
placed us in control of. He further told us that none of [776]
the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they
longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at [782]
any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then 159*
blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become 756
well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure 787
any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even 867
more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

Search there and you will undoubtedly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease. 159 * 956 87 [982] [978] [993] [955]

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future. [787] [577]

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

§9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

* 159 787 783 827 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

776 My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant*, *Good-heart*, *Good-as-he-walks-about*, *Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

● 782 276 So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

§10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten 159*
deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who 796
had been selected as attendants then transferred these 726
deer to the place where the people always give their
feasts.

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at 159*
evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to 789
the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast 796
was to be given I commenced to fast through the night 726
also. On the fifth night, together with my older
brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had
spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to
the spirits:

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, beseeching [782]
you."

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to [782]
be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying
piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were
to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their
holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood
near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to
the spirits.

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire- 000

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Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fireplaces. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits. My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the participants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

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Following the speech came the prayers to the various spirits:

Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

A War-Bundle Feast

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, 159 *
to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my 796
ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that 782 ●
I never become a weakling.

To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, 539
you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one 726
side of your body and death from the other, you whom we [753]
call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life.

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the 159*
Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the 796
Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest [782]
who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. 539
The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird 726
spoke as follows:

Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed
this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this
ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and
prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst
of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour
tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say,
● [782] "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco
to you." Although you may not know by any word or
direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you,
you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes
place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest
you will pass out of their range and come through in safety.
Then when you return to your people every one will rush
out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this
[782] sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco
and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds
[796] who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you
for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever
they pass your way they will remember you. They
will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

This is the way in which young men are encouraged to
act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has
preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present.
He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who
[782] live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin
has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate
this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and
my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living
in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves
connected through your actions. We have felt our-

selves connected with life by means of that organ which 159* Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.[21] I send 796 forth my greetings to you all. 537
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Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and [593] that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white [782] ● buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it [301] be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

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[21] A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten. [195]

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*159 but to all those present. In the olden days the old people
796 used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast
537 as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to
clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as
726 these older people would have liked, so you are doing.
*159 Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been
796 permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have
776 done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit[1] who
537 is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of
[053] power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side
of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now
they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white
[782] animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buckskin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please
him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend
these things so that therewith they may ask him for war
power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they
have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listening only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to
say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor
when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the
●[782] spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly,
it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about
this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those
who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver,
send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my
greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated
here.

*159 The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this
796 time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings
726 through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took
the lead. I followed and the others came up behind

[1] [i.e., Disease Giver -- Analyst]

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who 159 *
were giving the feast had the right to hold one of the 796
ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a 726
war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people [534]
carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We
thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I [782] ●
again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we
were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins.
Four times did we make the circuit. Then we
passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge. 159 *

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate 796
kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat 787
first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our 726
plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a
holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained
many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished
out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was
to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and
began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces
and began telling me of the blessing he had received
from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits
had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder- [776]
birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the
spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the
earth and those under the waters, all these talked to
him, he said. While partaking of my food he would
think of this power, he told me. I would go through
battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My
children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy
life. Thus he spoke.

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 Then the attendant took the water and tobacco and
765 gave it to the one who was to speak to the soul of the
775 departed person. This one then rose and spoke as
539 follows:

537 To-night we have come together not for the sake of amusement but because we are afflicted with grief. Now it is the custom to speak to the soul of the departed. It is a sacred action yet even I, they tell me, can do it provided no worthier person can be found. I have even been told that my words will not cause the spirit of the departed to lose his way on his journey to spirit-land. For that reason I am going to speak to the soul of the departed and say the best I can. I greet you all.

Then he takes some tobacco in his hand and passing it behind him through the lodge says:

Here it is, the tobacco. I am certain that you, O ghost, are not very far away, that in fact you are standing right in back of me, waiting for me to reach you the pipe and tobacco, that you might take it along with you; that you are waiting for the food to take with you on your journey. For four nights, however, you will have to wait here. Now here are the things that you desire. In return we ask you to act as mediator between the spirits and us. You have made us long for you and therefore do you see to it that all those things that belonged to you, all those things that you would have enjoyed had you lived longer—the victories on the warpath, earthly possessions, life—that all these you leave behind for your relatives to enjoy. This do you ask for us as you travel along. One thing more do I ask of you: do not cause us to follow you, do not cause your relatives any fear. I have now lit the pipe for you. ● [182]

*159 Thus I spoke. However, they made me an offering
721 of tobacco as they asked me, and I accepted the to-
[701] bacco saying that I would at least make an offering
[782] of tobacco for them. Then I offered tobacco to the
[776] Thunderbirds and asked them for rain, that we might
walk in the protection and power of rain. This of-
fering we made in the morning and it rained all that
day. Then we went to the place where we knew that
we could find horses. When we got there we met the
owner of the horses and spoke to him. We accompa-
nied him to a carpenter shop nearby, and there killed
him. I struck his dead body, counted coup [88] first,
[555] and announced my new name, as I gave a war-whoop.
[551] I shouted '*Big-Winnebago* has counted coup on his
man.' Then the others counted coup also. We
searched his pockets and found medicine and money
[729] in them. The money we divided among ourselves.
After that we cut out his heart, for we had heard that
[826] hearts were used for medicine. That is why we cut
out his heart. He had a gun and that we took away
from him and hid."

Then my father said to me, "My son, it is good. Your life is no longer an effeminate one. This is the manner in which our ancestors encouraged us to live. It is the will of the spirits in control of war that has led

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[88] The first four war honors enumerated above are called "count-
[555] ing coup" by the Whites. *Coup* is the French for *strike* and the ex-
pression owes its origin to the custom of warriors counting the num-
ber of people they have killed or honors they have obtained by
striking the post at the grave of the particular person for whose
benefit they are recounting their achievements.

§30. *I Eat the Peyote*

I sat inside the lodge with them. One man acted as 159 *
leader and we were to do whatever he ordered. The 765
various objects belonging to the ceremony—the two 796
peyote buttons, the drum, the eagle-wing fan, and the
small gourd rattle—were all placed before him. I
wanted to sit in some place on the side for I felt that
I might get to crying like the others. I felt quite
ashamed of myself.

The leader arose and talked. He said that this was
an affair of Earthmaker's and that he, the leader, could
do nothing of his own initiative; that God was going to
conduct the ceremony. He said the medicine, the pey- [824]
ote, was holy and that he would turn us all over to it.
He further said, "I am a very pitiful figure in this
ceremony so that when you pray to Earthmaker, pray
also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earth- [782] ●
maker." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed
for the sick and he prayed for those who did not yet
know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be
pitied. When he had finished we sat down. The
peyote was then passed around. They gave me five
buttons and my brother-in-law spoke to me, "If you
speak to this medicine, the peyote, it will give you
whatever you ask of it. After that you must pray to

to them. To understand properly these three problems we must, at 105
the outset, try to distinguish between the layman's and the priest's 21
conception, between the exoteric and the esoteric viewpoint al- 771
though, to be sure, the two are never mutually exclusive.

For the ordinary man, the lay Winnebago, the primary powers of 105
the vast majority of the deities have always inhered in the deities 771
themselves. They are their own possessions and have not been be- 776
stowed upon them from without. Moreover these powers relate to
the actual natural functions these deities perform. The prayers of [782]
man to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Night-spirits, the Thunderbirds, etc. are, primarily, that they continue their functions and do not deviate from them. But man recognizes that they also have secondary functions, that, for instance, the sun, the morning and evenings stars, the thunderbirds, the night-spirits, all possess the power to give man long life and victory on the warpath; that the grizzly bear spirits have curative powers to bestow upon him and the waterspirits have special powers in connection with death-dealing medicines, etc. This socialization of the spirits and deities brings them that much closer to man. By bringing them this much closer to man they are deprived, however, of something of their independence and freedom of action. They have now become more specifically oriented toward mankind than toward their functioning in the universe at large. This change in orientation did not come about mechanically or accidentally. It represents the priest-thinker's conception, his attempt to establish linkages and meaningful relationships between men and the world of spirits. This attempt, from the nature of things, can never completely succeed for the simple reason that the primary functions of most of the nature gods—and they are the important ones—cannot be eliminated, must, in fact, not be eliminated. In the case, however, of animal deities, their older primary functions can be attenuated to a very marked extent and deities can be developed who never possessed functions other than those we have designated as secondary, that is, deities who function only in relation to man.

Since the nature gods, however, were the great gods, they served as patterns for all the others and the marked split in their orienta-

the young faster to overreach and destroy himself. Thus we see along 105
what lines the reinterpretations of the priest-thinker were made. 771

This was the theory that the priest-thinker tried to impress upon 776
his fellowmen in order to introduce a greater sense of confidence and [538]
security in the relationship between man and the deities. Because of
the very high demands it made upon the worshipper, it remained
largely a philosophical-ethical ideal and the fairly sharp line of demarcation
between human beings and the spirits continued in force as
the popular theory. Some there were who even insisted that it was,
not only the courageous, but the morally justifiable thing to do, to
coerce the deities into acquiescing in man's demands. That was the
proper way to meet divinity, to challenge the gods, accept what they
granted and, then, to attempt to fulfill the conditions imposed even
if they meant death. Few individuals in the community, for instance, [554]
had greater prestige than the few who had secured a blessing from
the much dreaded deity, *Disease-giver*. He had two faces, one dealing
life and the other death. No suppliant knew which side would be [782]
turned toward him when he made his offerings, at noon, in the full
blaze of day, contrary to what held for all the other deities, namely,
that they must be approached at night.

This, of course, is the warrior's creed and, in a civilization like that 105
of the Winnebago where the highest ambition as a man was to 771
achieve distinction on the warpath, it naturally was very important. 577
Yet to this, the chief of the tribe might well retort: such courage and
such risks have their moral justification only when one is fighting the
enemy or avenging the death of a kinsman. They are inapplicable
when approaching a god. The taking of great risks concerns not only
oneself but the whole community and must be subject to the sanctions
of the community. A person must be carefully and properly
educated before he dare take them. To exhibit fearlessness and
heroic courage is, in itself, no virtue. Indeed, in the wrong place or
on the wrong occasion, they can and do lead to death and destruction.

And so, in the realm of religion as in that of social organization and 105
mythology, the problem to be faced is depicted as being the same. 771
How are we to resolve the differences between the 'earth' interpre-

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ1D
Winnebago NP12 ●

Element	Occurrence																
	La T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kic	Ab S	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tao
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
182. Basket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	•(+)	−	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat ~~as much peyote~~ as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+	•(+)	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•+	−	−	
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		•+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+		−	
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Concluded on next page)

C
W
171
745
796
[276]
[782] ●